THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

POPULAR DESCRIPTION,

GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

INDIA.

VOL. III.

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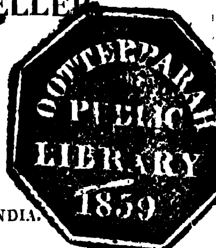
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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.



INDIA.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

WHILE these important transactions were taking place at Poonah and Nagpoor, so confounding to all who had either openly or secretly taken part in the hostile confederacy, the Pindarries had been completely driven out of their Haunts in Malwah, by the three divisions under Brigadier-generals Malcolm, Adams, and Marshall; their lands being either taken possession of, or restored to the agents of Sindia and the Bhopaul Nabob. The *durrahs* of Kureem Khan and Wasil Mohammed, united about Seronje; and thence, invited by Sindia, took the route of Nya-Serace, towards Gwalior. Cheetoo went off to the north-west, in hopes of support from Holkar, as well as from Jeswunt Rao Bhow, one of Sindia's commanders, stationed at Jawud. Lord Hastings's camp was then at Erich,* and he had

* Very soon after Lord Hastings had, by his advance to the Sindh, enforced the treaty of concert upon Sindia, his army was overtaken by "a pestilence as violent and destructive as any recorded in the pages of history." The source of this epidemic is matter of mere conjecture, although its progress was distinctly traced. It first appeared in the Gangetic Delta, about the commencement of the

placed detachments connecting his own with General Marshall's division. Upon ascertaining that Kureem and Wasil Mohammed had come to the northward, one of these detachments moved from Burwa Sagur, through Dutleea, across the Sindh, so as to cut them off from Gwalior; while Lord Hastings brought his division within thirty miles of Sindia's camp, which had the intended effect of completely overawing that chieftain. The Pindarries, despairing of aid from Gwalior, yet unable to retrace their steps to the southward, where General Marshall and Colonel Adams were closing in upon them, halted in the jungles and broken ground about Shahabad; till, on the approach of the British divisions, they forced the Lodwana Ghaut, leading into Haraotee, in consequence of the ill-conduct of Zalim Singh's troops posted there. General Marshall succeeded, however, in overtaking a

rainy season of 1817; and from the early part of September, its ravages were felt at Calcutta, where, for a long time, it destroyed upwards of two hundred persons daily. Spreading thence up the course of the Ganges and its confluents, it reached the camp of Brigadier general Hardyman about the middle of October; but, as it was pitched in a healthy country, the effects of the disease were much mitigated. Continuing westward, it fell with extraordinary violence upon the division coommanded by the Governor-General in person. The year was one of scarcity; the grain was of inferior quality, and the situation of the encampment was low and unhealthy. "For ten days, the whole camp was a hospital; and the deaths in that short period amounted, according to the nearest estimate that could be made, to a tenth of the whole number collected. Towards the end of November, the Governor-General had reached a healthy station, at Erich, on the Betwa, and the epidemic had visibly expended its virulence. See Prinsep, vol. ii. 107—111. The author was present at head-quarters, and lost seven servants and a moonshee in four days In the following April, the same fatal disorder attacked the division under Colonel Adams in Kandeish; and in a few days, the casualties far exceeded what the troops had suffered through the whole course of the military operations. No part of India, from Nepaul to Cape Comorin, escaped this dreadful visitation. Ib. p. 259.

party and destroying a few of them. They then attempted to cross the Chumbul by the Loharee ford, but were there intercepted by General Donkin, who surprised their advanced guard in a night bivouac, about four miles N. E. of Burod, capturing the wife of Kureem Khan and all his state elephants, kettle-drums, standards, and other insignia. The two chiefs, after having burned their baggage, went off to the southward, at the head of 4000 of the best mounted of their followers, with whom they succeeded in passing Colonel Adams's division, and continued their flight westward into Mewar. Of those who were left behind, some were cut off by the troops, and others by the exasperated villagers. One considerable body, however, got clear off to the southward, and after traversing the whole Deccan, entered the Company's provinces in the Carnatic, where they were annihilated or completely dispersed before the end of the ensuing January. The scene of operations, as regarded the Pindarries, was now entirely confined to Mewar. General Marshall established his head-quarters at Seronje; Colonel Adams moved down upon Gungraur, to hem them in on the east; while General Donkin, re-crossing the Chumbul, took post at Shahpoora, west of the Bunan, so as to inclose them on the north. Such was the progress of the Pindaree warfare in the east of Malwah: more important events were passing to the westward.

When Cheetoo went off towards the north-west, he was pursued by Sir John Malcolm with the third division, until he found refuge in Holkar's camp in the vicinity of Mehidpoor. Sir John arrived at Agur on the 4th of December, where he halted, and receiving intelligence that Holkar's army entertained inten-

tions decidedly hostile, he resolved to retire upon the first division, under Sir Thos. Hislop, then advancing to Oojein. The two divisions met on the 12th, and after a halt of two days, advanced towards Holkar's camp, with the intention to offer terms, agreeably to the Governor General's instructions. Gunput Row, the *duan*, had been gained over to the Peishwa's cause, and Toolsah Bhye had no will but his; but the arrival of General Malcolm's division produced some alteration in their dispositions. The commanders of battalions, however, aware that if an alliance was formed with the British Government, they must lose the consequence which they derived from the existing state of anarchy, were from the first disposed to hostilities. It was through their influence that no satisfactory answer was returned to the amicable overtures that were made, and that, although a shew of negotiation was kept up, the leaders of the Mahratta horse were urged to provoke a rupture by daily depredations on the cattle and followers of the British army. "So determined were the Patans to cut off all chance of pacification, that, suspecting the regency of an intention to accept the terms, they confined Gunput Row, and put Toolsah Bhye to death." *

On the day that this tragedy took place, the British army had advanced to within ten miles of Holkar's camp, on the banks of the Seepre, near Mehidpoor. A tumultuous council was held, at which the military chiefs decided, that it was advisable to hazard an action on the favourable ground that they occupied.

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 462. The details are given by Sir John Malcolm, C. I. vol. i. pp. 314—317. "Not a foot stirred, and not a voice was raised, to save a woman who had never shewn mercy to others."

"The order of battle was skilfully arranged. The horse, which had crossed to the right bank of the Seepra, took a position that was well calculated to embarrass the operations of the advancing army, by occupying its attention and threatening its stores and baggage; while the infantry and cannon, covered by the remainder of the cavalry, occupied a strong and well-connected line, protected on the right by a deep water-course, and on the left, by the abrupt bank of the Seepra. The attention of the British army was from the first directed to the storming of the heavy batteries (about seventy guns). All skirmishing and partial actions were avoided; and the troops, having crossed the river, formed under cover, where they remained till the advance of the right of the line upon the enemy's left, (the strongest point of his position,) gave the signal for a simultaneous attack, which, after a short conflict, was successful in every quarter. The army of Holkar fled in great confusion. The horse, who had shown much boldness at the commencement of the day, were the first to leave the field when the action grew warm; and both they and the infantry gave way before the artillery ceased its destructive fire."*

This victory cost the British 174 killed and 604 wounded, of whom 38 were European officers. Holkar's army lost 3000 men, principally in the pursuit.

* This brief but distinct account of the battle is given in the words of the highest authority,—the individual to whose chivalrous intrepidity the victory was chiefly attributable.—See Malcolm's C. I. vol. i. pp. 318—19. Sir John Malcolm had the immediate command of the two brigades destined to the attack of the enemy's left. An elaborate account of this important battle, "the only general action of primary order in India since 1804," with military comments, will be found in Blacker, pp. 146—158. See also Prinsep, vol. ii. pp. 127—132. Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 462, 3.

An immense booty fell into the hands of the Mysore horse. The main body continued their flight through the night, to Seeta Mhow, and thence to Mundissor, where a seasonable submission saved them from destruction. The mother of Mulhar Row, Keissurah Bhye, being now the acknowledged head of the Holkar state, sent for Tantia Jogh, (who, as well as Gunput Row, had been imprisoned by the Patans,) and investing him with an honorary dress as minister, placed her son and the interests of the family in his hands. He repaired immediately to the English camp; and, on the 6th of January, the treaty of Mundissor was concluded; "by which the Holkar family, though it abandoned its claims upon the Rajpootana chiefs, its lands in the Jeypoor country, and its territories south of the Satpoorah range, attained, through the support of the British Government, the actual possession of its remaining countries." * A *vakeel* from Holkar was to reside at Calcutta, and a resident envoy was to be appointed to Holkar's court. The Mahratta horse under Ram Deen, the moment they heard the treaty was signed, hastened in a body to the southward, to join Bajee Row at Kopergaum. The remains of the fourteen battalions of infantry defeated at Mehidpoor, had gone off, under Roshun Beg and Roshun Khan, to Rampoorah, where they were surprised and routed, on the 10th of January, by a corps under General Browne. The new minister "did not deplore an event which disembarrassed a bankrupt state of a mutinous soldiery, and cancelled a number of old and troublesome claims." †

The immediate effect of this sudden annihilation

* Malcolm, C. I. vol. i. p. 321.

† *Ibid.* p. 323. About 400 were put to the sword, but the two leaders got clear off.

of the power of Holkar, was apparent in the altered conduct of the Gwalior *durbar*, which henceforth became perfectly tractable. Some of Sindia's officers still, however, shewed a disposition to support the Pindarries; and it was found necessary to send a division against Jeswunt Rao Bhow, who was encamped at Jawud. That town was taken, and his force destroyed, on the 28th of January; and the three forts of Kumulnere, Ryepoor, and Ramnagur were reduced by General Donkin by the middle of February. Cheetoo, after withdrawing from the camp of Jeswunt Rao Bhow, went off to the north-west. A part of his *durrah* was destroyed by the Gujerat division, and several of their parties were overtaken in villages; but the main body contrived to elude pursuit, till at length, on the 25th of January, it was completely surprised and dispersed by a detachment from the garrison at Hindia. The Bheels and Grassias in the neighbourhood spared none who fell into their hands. Cheetoo, with about 200 followers, still escaped; and he endeavoured to make terms for himself, through the Nabob of Bhopaul; but his demands were too extravagant to be listened to. After passing through a variety of adventures, hunted from his last asylum, and still bearing up with a spirit and perseverance worthy of the leader of a better band, he disappeared, and, for some days, no one knew what had become of him. His horse was at last discovered grazing near the jungles adjoining the fortress of Asseergurh, saddled and bridled; and, upon search, a bag of about 250 rupees and several seal-rings, with some letters of Appa Sahib, promising future reward, fixed more completely its identity. At no great distance, some clothes clotted with blood, and

the relics of the tiger's feast, plainly told its master's fate. Finally, the Pindara's head was found, with the features still in a state to be recognised; and the mangled remains were given over to his son for interment.

The Pindarries, dispersed, deprived of their leaders, without a home or rendezvous, were afterwards little heard of, although flying parties were seen in the Deccan till the termination of the war with the Peishwa. They eventually mingled with the rest of the population; and some of the survivors are making amends for past atrocities by the benefit which is derived from their labour in restoring trade and cultivation.* The Patans were prevented from trying their strength, by the fate of Holkar's troops at Mehidpoor, by the influence and cunning of Ameer Khan, and by the address and firmness of Sir David Ochterlony. Some of them were dismissed with a part of their arrears; some were taken into the service; and the whole were over-awed or conciliated without bloodshed. With the Rajpoots also, satisfactory negotiations were concluded. All the states and principalities, except Saugur, (of which the British Government took possession,) accepted the terms offered by the Governor-General; and the cessions made by Sindia enabled his Lordship to perform a politic act of justice and gratitude, in rewarding the hitherto ill-requited Rajah of Boondee and the noble-minded

* Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 465—8. Malcolm, C. I., vol. i. pp. 461, 2. Many of them settled in the Deccan and Malwah as cultivators, and some became "active, improving farmers." Many of the *sirdars* surrendered to the British Government on the promise of a pardon and a livelihood. Kureem Khan was settled with his family on an estate purchased for him in the Goorukpoor district. Wasil Mohammed poisoned himself.

young Nabob of Bhopaul.* The military operations in Central India being completed, Sir John Malcolm remained there as political agent of the Governor-General; and by his active exertions and conciliatory methods, introduced peace, order, and fertility into a country where those blessings had been long unknown.

It only remains to narrate the sequel to the operations in the Deccan. Shortly after the surrender of Nagpoor, supposing that every thing in that quarter was finally arranged, General Doveton proceeded with his division to the westward, to co-operate with Sir Thomas Hislop in taking possession of the forts in the territory ceded by Holkar. But no sooner was Appa Sahib re-instated on the *musnud*, than he renewed his intrigues, encouraged the savage Goands † to revolt, sent secret instructions to his *kelledars* to resist the orders of surrender which he had conceded, and applied to Bajee Row for assistance. The Resident, having obtained the clearest proofs of the Rajah's treachery, arrested him on the 15th of March (1818), and took possession of the city. The advancing succours from the Peishwa under Gunput Row had reached the banks of the Wurda, when they were met and driven back by a detachment under Colonel Scott. On the receipt of orders from the Governor-General, Appa Sahib was, on the 3rd of May, sent off from Nagpoor towards Allahabad, his intended prison; but,

* The early death of this virtuous and patriotic young prince was an irreparable loss. His life was terminated in 1818, by an accident. Sir John Malcolm gives him the highest character. Though a moslem, his favourite minister and companion was a Christian. His haram contained but one princess, and no slaves.—Malcolm, C. I., vol. i. p. 419.

† The aboriginal inhabitants of Gondwana, from whom the province derives its name.

having corrupted some of the sepoys of a Bengal corps on his guard, and being furnished with a suit of their regimentals, he succeeded in making his escape on the 13th, and fled to the Muhadeo hills between Nagpoor and the Nerbuddah, where he was joined by Cheetoo, the Pindara. The criminal negligence that permitted his escape, was productive of much harassing service, as the person of Appa Sahib became a rallying point for all the disbanded and broken troops of the country, and occasioned insurrections in various quarters. In the mean time, a grandson of Rughoojee Bhonslay, (a minor named Goozur, but who assumed the appellation of Rughoojee,) was elevated to the *guddee*, the widow of his grandfather being considered as regent; but the whole administration, during his minority, was confided to the Resident. Appa Sahib, a proscribed fugitive, baffled for some time the pursuit of the parties who were hemming him in, and succeeded in gaining the fort of Asseerghur. On the fall of that fortress, after a respectable defence of twenty days, on the 9th of April, 1819, he made his escape, disguised as a fakeer, to the Seik country; and no desire being evinced by the British Government to receive his submission, he sank into the insignificance naturally attaching to his weak and treacherous character.*

In order to trace the history of this state to its final settlement, we have departed from the strict order of events, and must now go back to the point at which we left the affairs of the retreating Peishwa. From Poonah, Bajee Row proceeded to Maholy,

* Grant Duff, vol. III. pp. 473; 478, 9. It was in fleeing from Asseerghur, that Cheetoo met his dreadful fate. This author expresses his doubt whether Appa Sahib had ever been within the fort; but the fact seems to have been substantiated.—See Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 323.

whence he sent a party to Wassota, to bring to his camp the Rajah of Satarah, the nominal head of the Mahratta empire, with his mother and brothers. They were not brought in before he was already on his way to Punderpoor. Turning up the bank of the Bheema, the Peishwa continued his flight until he ascended the Lag Ghaut, north of Joonere, where he was joined by Trimbukjee Dainglia with a reinforcement. On hearing that General Smith had arrived at Sungumnere, he went off to the southward, giving out that he intended to attack Poonah. Great exertions were therefore made to come up with him; but, in the mean time, the most remarkable affair took place that occurred during the whole war.

Lieutenant-colonel Burr, who was stationed at Poonah, hearing of the meditated attack, sent off express to the cantonment at Seroor for a reinforcement; and a battalion accordingly commenced its march from that place on the last night of the year (1817). It consisted of little more than 500 rank and file, supported by two six-pounders manned by Europeans, and accompanied by 300 of the newly raised irregular horse; the whole under the command of Captain Francis Staunton. By ten o'clock the next morning, the party had reached the high ground overlooking the village of Koreigaum on the Bheema, whence the whole of the Peishwa's army, consisting of about 20,000 horse and nearly 8000 foot, were seen encamped on the opposite side of the river, above the village, under the walls of which the road to Poonah crosses the river by a ford. Fortunately, the road to the village, which was on the left bank, was unoccupied by the enemy; and Captain Staunton pushed for the walls of Koreigaum. The Mahrattas, perceiving his intention, detached three bodies of Arabs, consist-

ing of about 1000 each, under cover of their guns, and supported by large bodies of horse, for the same purpose. Both parties succeeded in occupying a part of the village. The Peishwa ascended an eminence about two miles distant, to await the contest, while his principal chiefs gathered round him, flattering him with assurances of the speedy destruction of this small but resolute band.

Koreigaum is a moderate-sized village, immediately overhanging the steep bank of the Bheema; it is very irregularly built, being composed of terraced buildings, some of them substantial and surrounded with a wall. It also contains a small *choultry* (originally a temple), of which the British gained possession; but the most commanding situation was left to the enemy, owing to their superior information of the nature of the village. Good positions were, however, obtained for the two guns, to command the avenues by which the enemy might approach in force; but even this advantage was greatly reduced by their being exposed to "a sniping fire" from neighbouring walls. The village became extremely crowded; both horse and foot, as well as baggage, cattle, and followers, being obliged to take shelter in it, and a multitude of the enemy pressing on them with daring impetuosity. Situated as the two parties were, the British had every reason to expect that even a desperate resistance must soon be overcome; and Captain Staunton, failing in his endeavours to drive the enemy from their strong positions, was reduced to the necessity of defending his own. In this state was the detachment at twelve o'clock at noon, cut off from the water, under a burning sun, after a long night-march, and no subsequent repose. Every foot of ground was disputed; several streets were taken and retaken;

and repeated attacks were repulsed by the bayonet. As a charge of this kind required always to be led by a European officer, the majority of these became disabled by death or wounds. At length, in one of the attacks, the Arabs made themselves masters of the *choultry*, where three of the officers were lying wounded. Assistant-surgeon Wingate, one of the number, got up, and went out, but was immediately stabbed by the Arabs, and his body was cruelly mangled. Lieutenant Swanston had the presence of mind to advise his remaining companion to suffer the Arabs to rifle them unresistingly, which they did, without committing further violence. In the mean time, a party of the battalion under Lieutenant Jones and Assistant-surgeon Wylie (the only officers besides Captain Staunton who remained unhurt) arrived to their rescue, retook the *choultry*, avenged the death of Mr. Wingate, and carried their companions to a place of greater safety. The sufferings of the wounded became extreme from thirst; and the men who continued the conflict were fainting, or nearly frantic, from the dreadful privation of water. Some of the artillery-men, all of whom bore a conspicuous part in this heroic defence, proposed to Captain Staunton, that they should surrender if terms could be obtained. His determined refusal did not satisfy them. Lieutenant Chisholm, their officer, being killed, the enemy, encouraged by this circumstance, rushed upon one of the guns, and took it. The adjutant of the battalion was lying mortally wounded;* but he no sooner heard that the gun was taken, than getting up, he called to the grenadiers once more to follow him, and seizing a musket

* Lieutenant Patterson, the adjutant, was a very powerful man, 6 feet 7 inches in height.

by the muzzle, rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left, until a second ball through his body completely disabled him. The sepoys, thus led, were irresistible; the gun was retaken; and the dead Arabs, literally lying one upon another, proved how desperately it had been defended. The body of Lieutenant Chisholm was found by his gun, with the head off: it had been sent as a trophy to the Peishwa. Captain Staunton pointed it out to the men as a proof how all would be served who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas; on which they declared "they would die to a man;" and the conflict was resumed by all with the most determined valour. Their situation towards evening was very hopeless; but, as the night fell, the vigour of the attack relaxed, and the men were able to procure a supply of water. By nine o'clock, the firing ceased, and the village was evacuated by the enemy. At day-break, the detachment made preparations for renewing the contest, having taken possession of the strong post occupied by the assailants the day before; but they suffered no further molestation; and the Peishwa's army was descried moving off on the Poonah road. The news of General Smith's approach, it afterwards appeared, led to this movement. Captain Staunton, uninformed of the General's advance, and having reason to believe that the enemy was lying in wait for them in the way to Poonah, (which was the fact,) gave out that it was his intention to proceed thither. As soon as it was dark, he set out in that direction; but then changing his route, retreated to Seroor, where he arrived the next morning, with the guns and wounded, "with drums beating and colours flying." Of 26 artillery-men, 12 were killed; and 8 wounded; of the native infantry, there were 50 killed and 105 wounded; and of the

horse, 96 killed, wounded, and missing. Of the eight European officers, (two of them only assistant-surgeons,) three were killed, and two wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at between 6 and 700 men. Gokla, Appa Dessaye, and Trimbukjee directed the attacks; and at one time, Trimbukjee entered the village.*

To commemorate this gallant defence, the Government ordered a monument to be erected at Koreigaum, recording the names of those who fell. Captain Staunton was nominated honorary aide-de-camp to the Governor-General, and had subsequently conferred upon him the command of Ahmednugger. The corps (the 2nd battalion of the 1st Bombay N. I.) was made grenadiers, as their first battalion had been for the defence of Mangalore; and "Mangalore and Koreigaum" became the animating motto of the regiment.†

After leaving Koreigaum, the Peishwa fled towards the Carnatic, followed by General Pritzler with the reserve division of the Deccan army, who took up the pursuit near the Salpee Ghaut. On Bajee Row's arrival at the Gutpurba, he was surprised to find the country already raised against him, and in possession of the British. Turning suddenly round, he passed General Pritzler, recrossed the Krishna, and descended the

* Blacker, 179—182, and App. I. Grant Duff, vol. iii. pp. 432—438. Prinsep, vol. ii. pp. 159—167. What added to the inequality of the contest, was the superior courage of the Arab infantry. As a proof of the estimation in which they are held by the native powers, it is stated, that their pay in the Peishwa's army was double that of other soldiers. Arabs (natives of Arabia) received fifteen rupees a month; their descendants born in India, ten ditto; Hindoostanees, eight ditto; Mahrattas and Deccanees, six ditto.

† It is remarkable that, in another village of the same name, a defence of a scarcely less heroic character was made under Captain O'Donnell and Lieutenant Morgan in 1803. Blacker, 183.

Salpee Ghaut, going off in the direction of Sholapoor. Generals Smith and Pritzler having united their divisions at Rehmutpoor on the 7th of February, the whole force proceeded to Satarah, which it was thought advisable to reduce, on account of the importance attached to that fortress in the minds of the Mahratta people. It surrendered, after receiving a few shells, on the 10th of February,* when the British colours were hoisted; but on the next day, these were hauled down, and the *bhugwa jenda*, or standard of Sevajee, was, with due forms, hoisted in its place. A manifesto was at the same time published by the Governor-General's commissioner (Mr. Elphinstone), who accompanied the army, setting forth the reasons which led the British Government to deprive the Peishwa of all public authority for ever, and to take possession of his territory; the whole to be thenceforth under the authority of the Company, excepting a small tract reserved for the Rajah of Satarah. This prince, the Governor-General had resolved to re-instate in a nominal sovereignty, as a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the Brahmins, and with a view to conciliate the Mahratta nation; thereby "leaving an opening for the employment of many persons in their own way, whom it would have been expensive to maintain, and who could not obtain a livelihood under the British administration."

A new distribution of the British forces was now formed; one division, under General Pritzler, being

* "The garrison, consisting of 400 *sebundies* (revenue-troops), were permitted to march out with their arms; for, having shewn themselves so little inclined to use them, it was considered unimportant how they went off." Blacker, 192. Had the *kelledar* made a resolute defence, the strength of the place would have rendered its reduction a matter of great difficulty.

detached to attack the strong hill-forts immediately south of Poonah, while General Smith again set out with the other, in quest of Bajee Row. Other divisions were likewise employed* in occupying the Concan. From Sholapoor, where he was joined by a body of horse from Nagpoor under Gunput Row, the Peishwa moved first to the westward, and then turned off from the Punderpoor road to Ashta (or Ashtee). Here, on the 20th of February, General Smith, with the cavalry and horse artillery, came in sight of the Mahratta army just as it was moving off the ground. The Peishwa sent Gokla a taunting message for having suffered the army to be surprised; to which the latter replied, that he would either guard his rear or lose his own life. Before the British squadrons gained sight of the plain, they heard the *tooteries* and *tom-toms* (long trumpets and drums) shrilly and loudly proclaiming surprise and confusion on the part of the enemy. The Peishwa, not considering himself safe in a palankeen, mounted a horse, and fled precipitately with a sufficient guard, leaving Gokla with from eight to ten thousand cavalry, to cover his retreat. It appears to have been supposed, that the entire fourth division of the British was advancing. When the cavalry alone were discovered moving over the hill, Gokla resolved to await their approach. His ground was chosen with great judgement, behind a *nullah* of difficult passage, and the ruggedness of the ground impeded the advance of the horse-artillery. The appearance of the Mahrattas was sufficiently formidable; the front ranks of their line having their spears couched, while the rear ranks were drawn up on higher ground, armed with matchlocks. "They opened a heavy fire upon the cavalry when within 150 yards of their line, which the latter did not return till they had

advanced within a few paces of the Mahratta front; when the 22d dragoons, discharging their pistols in the faces of the enemy, charged their centre. and the action became close and warm for a few seconds. The horse-artillery, at this time, on the right, could not fire; and General Smith, full of anxiety to see the cavalry close with the enemy, had galloped into the space between the right of the 7th cavalry and the left of the guns, where he was much exposed. Gokla had a chosen body in reserve behind his left wing, for the purpose of attacking the rear or flank; and when the shock of this charge made by the 22d dragoons, had forced his centre to give way, he wheeled with the greatest rapidity round his left, and passing between the guns and the right of the British line, attacked the 7th cavalry with great impetuosity. General Smith was cut down, and some confusion was produced on the right; but Major Dawes, with the reserve of the 22d, charged Gokla, who was killed in this desperate but brave attempt; and now the whole of the Mahrattas fled in confusion." * Their main body never came into action. They were pursued for nearly ten miles, and twelve elephants, fifty-seven camels, and all the rear of the Peishwa's baggage were taken. The booty was immense. But the most important result of the victory was the liberation of the Rajah of Satarah, with his mother and two brothers, all of whom voluntarily threw themselves on the British

* "Fifteen Years in India," pp. 518—21. The author of this work was in the engagement. A critical account of this brilliant affair will be found in Blacker, pp. 249—253. Few similar actions, between horse only, occur in the history of the Indian campaigns. General Smith is said to have been ignorant of the art of manœuvring cavalry; and he was opposed by the ablest Mahratta general, justly denominated by his master, the Sword of the Empire. Gokla's skill and judgement were equal to his valour.

protection. The enemy lost about 200 killed, while the British loss amounted to only 14 Europeans and 5 native cavalry killed and wounded, including the General, whose wound did not prove dangerous.*

This defeat, together with the capture of Satarah and its Rajah, made even the most sanguine of the Mahrattas regard the cause of their chief as now altogether desperate; and his people began, immediately after, to return to their homes. This impression of despondency was confirmed by the daily fall of some one or other of his southern forts before General Pritzler. General Smith ("after the sale of the prize property") returned towards Poonah, for the purpose of placing the Rajah under the care of Mr. Elphinstone. His Highness now assumed all the external pomp of an eastern monarch, and with his train, formed an imposing pageant at the head of the British line. Upon approaching a town or village, the *tooleries* were sounded, and the musicians, who rode on camels, began to beat their *nagarras*, or tom-toms, upon which the inhabitants came out in crowds, and prostrated themselves before their "legitimate sovereign,"—"as legitimate," Mr. Blacker justly remarks, "as the majority of Indian dynasties."

Having surrendered his charge, General Smith resumed the harassing pursuit of the deposed Peishwa. The heat of the weather had now increased so much, that, during every long march, some of the men fell under *coups de soleil*, and the hospitals were soon

* Only one man was killed on our side. Captain Grant Duff states the Mahratta loss, in the charge and during the pursuit, at only 100 men, and speaks of the affair as trifling, although it had a very material effect in hastening the termination of the war. The author of Fifteen Years in India says, that when the main body was overtaken, the carnage was dreadful.

crowded. But the campaign was now drawing to a close. Bajee Row remained for some time at Kopergaum, where he was joined by Ram Deen, a partizan of Holkar's, but was deserted by several of his *jagheerdars*. He next continued his route towards Chandore, intending ultimately to proceed to Nagpoor; but the approach of the divisions under Sir Thomas Hislop and General Doveton, compelled him to alter his course; and he hastened towards Chandah in the Nagpoor territory, sending forward Gunput Row by a different route to the assistance of his master.* The Mahratta officer was met on the banks of the Wurda, as already mentioned, by the division under Colonel Adams; and the Peishwa himself, in endeavouring to avoid General Doveton, was driven upon the same army near Seonee, where a considerable number of his followers were killed, the rest of his treasure was taken, and most of his *jagheerdars* who yet adhered to his standard, took the opportunity of dispersing. Chandah, which was held by his partizans, was, after a short siege, carried by assault. Bajee Row, followed by General Doveton, now fled in great consternation and distress to the northward. He had made many overtures to Mr. Elphinstone; but, as they always implied an ability to treat, he was distinctly told, that his submission only could be accepted. After a flight of several hundred miles, he reached the borders of Khandeish; and on the 5th of May, was advancing towards Sindwa, intending there to cross the Nerbuddah, when he found that Sir John Malcolm had made every preparation to intercept him in that quarter. He, therefore, sent forward two *vakeels*, with a letter to the

* It was at Chandah, that Appa Sahib had engaged to meet the Peishwa with all the troops he could muster.

General, and retired to wait the result at Dholkote, near Asseerghur. His force still amounted to upwards of 5000 horse and 4000 foot, of whom half were Arabs. On receiving the Peishwa's overtures, Sir John Malcolm resolved to make his letter the basis of a negotiation for his surrender; and two of his officers were despatched towards the Mahratta camp, to announce the preliminary terms, upon which Sir John promised to become the medium of an adjustment with the British Government. He was required to renounce for himself and family for ever, all sovereignty in the Deccan, to which he was never to return; to separate himself immediately from Ram Deen, and all proscribed rebels and Pindarries; and to advance to meet Sir John Malcolm. After a protracted negotiation, Bajee Row surrendered himself on the 3rd of June, on condition that the stipulated maintenance should not be less than eight *laks* of rupees a-year. Although these terms were considered by the Governor General as the extreme of liberality, he did not hesitate to ratify the treaty concluded by his political agent; and Beithoor, a place of sanctity near Cawnpoor, was appointed for Bajee Row's future residence, to which he was immediately conducted. Trimbukjee escaped to the southward, and, for a time, attempted to collect adherents, and to conceal himself, as before; but, the place of his retreat being discovered, he was surprised and seized by a party of irregular horse under Lieutenant Swanston, (one of the defenders of Koreigaum,) and was sent a prisoner to the fort of Chunargurh in Bengal. The surrender of Bajee Row was of the greater importance, from the escape of Appa Sahib; and the pension conceded to him was a cheap price for the conclusion of a contest, the pro-

longation or possible renewal of which would have been fraught with the most serious evils.*

In the mean time, the Rajah of Satarah had been installed on the *musnud* with great pomp, on which occasion he issued two proclamations; one announcing his connexion with the British Government, and the other making over entire powers for the arrangement and government of his country to the Political Resident (Captain Grant Duff). The territory reserved for the Rajah, was the tract between the Warna and the Neera, extending from the base of the Syhadree mountains on the west, to Punderpoor on the east, or nearly to the Nizam's boundary.† Until some progress was made in its settlement, it was to be managed en-

* Sir John Malcolm's conduct towards the Peishwa was regarded, at the time, as marked more by generosity than by policy; and Lord Hastings went so far as to represent the terms granted under such circumstances, as "purely gratuitous." Sir John, however, contends, that Bajee Row was not in our power. He had the means, by going into Asseerghur, of protracting the war for five or six months, and of keeping all India disturbed and unsettled during that period. That fortress could not be besieged during the rains, and did not fall till the ensuing April. The view taken by Sir John Malcolm was in unison with the opinions of General Doveton, Mr. Elphinstone, and all the political officers in that part of India, and is ably defended by Mr. Blacker.—See Malcolm's P. H. v. i. pp. 519—533; and Appendix V. Blacker, pp. 361—9.

† The next object, after providing for the Rajah of Satarah, was to reward the Rajah of Kolapoor, who, on the first declaration of hostilities, espoused the British cause. The districts of Chikooree and Menowlee were therefore restored to him. His territory, which borders that of Satarah, is very nearly equal in extent; and under an arrangement concluded in 1812, he enjoys "absolute independence and unlimited authority, civil and military, within his dominions." Prinsep, vol ii. p. 386. Grant Duff, vol. iii. p. 492. The Kolapoor Rajah is of the same race as the Satarah Rajah, being descended from an adopted heir of the eldest son of Sevajee. See Wilks's South of India ii. 369.

tirely as a British province; and the other districts of the Peishwa's territory were placed under British officers, whose authority resembled that of the great soubahdars under the Mahratta government. "As the country was drained of British troops, the greater part of which had proceeded in pursuit of the Peishwa, the means of these agents were at first limited. But, by raising irregulars, taking such places as they could reduce, destroying or executing straggling plunderers, (especially when they were found torturing or murdering the villagers,) opening negotiations with the *kelledars* of the stronger forts, and representing the hopelessness of resistance, the country, with the assistance of such regulars as could be spared, fell almost as fast as men could be collected to take possession. It not unfrequently happened, that irregulars who had left Bajee Rao's service a few days or hours before, entered that of the British Government; and instances are adducible, in which, having quitted the Peishwa, they were enlisted, supplied with ammunition, and fighting for the new Government within little more than twenty-four hours; so readily do the irregular troops of India transfer their allegiance to the prevailing power. To these men, the new conquests were frequently, of necessity, intrusted; and they proved in no instance treacherous or disobedient.

"By the month of May, a small detachment of regulars from Poonah, under Major Eldridge, had obtained possession of the numerous hill-forts between that city and the Ahmednuggur hills; some of which are as strong as any in the world. The defences are entirely composed of solid rock, in which caves are hewn, that render the garrison safe from the effect of shells, and a very few resolute men could maintain an

assault against any numbers.* Another small detachment was equally successful in reducing the forts in the Chandore range; and by the end of May, the Arabs in Kandeish,† and the insurgents under the pretended Chitoor Singh in the Satarah territory,‡ were the only opponents of the British Government within the dominions of the late Peishwa. On the 13th of June, the Arab garrison of the strong fort of

* "No territory of similar extent in India," remarks Colonel Blacker, "or perhaps in any part of the world, possesses so many fortresses as that which belonged to the Peishwa. The country both north and south of this tract, including the Western Ghauts, differs immaterially from it in general features and construction, without being marked by the same efforts of human art." The origin of these numerous strong-holds is involved in obscurity; but many of them are "indubitably Mahratta-built." This country was, in fact, the cradle of the Mahratta power, but most of the forts existed prior to the time of Sevajee. The number of forts in India which are in perfect repair, is now very few, compared with the numerous ruins scattered throughout its kingdoms. "The Mysore war of 1791, 2 demonstrated in India, that hill-forts are as contemptible, considered as places of strength, as they are useless for the purposes of a depôt." See for some judicious remarks on this subject, Blacker, 305—8, 356.

† The greater part of the Peishwa's dominions in Kandeish had been usurped by Arab colonists. The condition of submission offered to them, was nothing short of re-transportation, at the expense of Government, to Arabia. As this involved the sacrifice of all their past acquisitions and future prospects, the "intrusive race" were driven to desperation, and resolved to defend their possessions to the last. They were, in fact, no better than lawless buccaneers, and their expulsion was not less necessary than the extirpation of the Pindarries. Prinsep, v. ii. p. 298.

‡ The real Chitoor Singh was uncle to the young Rajah of Satarah, and was distinguished by his valour and enterprise, which rendered him very popular. After successively serving in the armies of Holkar, Ameer Khan, and the Rajpoots, he was treacherously made prisoner by Trimbukjee, who had seduced him to a conference, in 1812, and thrown into the fort of Kangooree in the Concan, where he died in April 1818.—Grant Duff, v. iii. pp. 159, 182, 377.

Mallygaom surrendered to Colonel M'Dowell, after a very obstinate defence; during which they repulsed an assault, and occasioned a loss to the besiegers of upwards of 200 men in killed and wounded.* In the opposite quarter of the country, and on the ensuing day, the fort of Prucheetgurh and the pretended Chitoor Singh were taken by a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham.† These events, except a few detached expeditions in the ensuing season, and the siege of Asseerghur, put an end to military operations in the Mahratta territory.‡

The war being thus successfully terminated, Lord Hastings "did not hesitate to proclaim that supremacy which now indisputably belonged to the British Government;" and such was the change that had taken place in the state of public opinion in England, that "not a voice was raised against a measure the very contemplation of which, a few years before, had been denounced as a dream of ambition."§ About two-thirds of India are now under the direct manage-

* For the details, we must refer to Prinsep, v. ii. pp. 300—308; and Blacker, pp. 324—330. Malleygaum is the strongest place in the valley of Khandeish: the fort is half encircled by the river Moassum.

† This place, in a most inaccessible situation, was taken by a singular enterprise. A brisk fire from a hill commanding the fort, had driven the besieged from the gate, to seek shelter behind some stone-houses in the fort; and, under this fire, a hole was blown in the gate by musketry, sufficiently large to admit a man, through which a party entered, one by one, surprised the garrison, and carried the place without the loss of a man.—Grant Duff, v. iii. p. 488.

‡ Grant Duff, v. iii. pp. 486—488. See, for a description of the siege of Asseerghur, Blacker, pp. 413—427; Prinsep, v. ii. pp. 323—334. This fortress capitulated to the British in the war of 1802, (see vol. ii. p. 251,) but had been restored to Sindia, whose *kelledar* refused to surrender it. The Governor-General now resolved to retain it.

§ Malcolm's P. H., v. i. p. 592; v. ii. p. 60.

ment of the three Presidencies. The remaining third is under the effective control of the military power of the British Government; and the imperfect schemes of administration which have been propped up for a while in the territories still under native rule, must be considered as destined, sooner or later, to be replaced, probably without a struggle, by a uniform and permanent system. Whatever be the difficulties and dangers attaching to the dominion which the British have been reluctantly compelled to assume, the struggle which has thus ended in the universal establishment of their ascendancy, promises to be the last that they will have to maintain with the native powers of India.*

Here, then, we may terminate the history of that extraordinary series of events, which has placed in the hands of the British, the sovereignty and the destinies of India. After eight centuries of uninterrupted war and anarchy, a "handful of distant islanders" have restored to this devoted country the blessings of external security and internal repose; to a degree which, probably, at no former period of its history, was ever known. So mighty and rapid a change in the condition of an eighth part of the human race, has no parallel in history, whether we consider the comparative number of the conquerors or the means by which it has been achieved. Never since conquest began to desolate

* A political history of India would be incomplete without some reference to the circumstances which led to the Birmese war of 1824—5. The first collision with the Birmese Government occurred during the administration of Lord Teignmouth. In 1818, the Marquis of Hastings had certain information of the emperor's having joined the Mahratta confederacy; but no interruption of political amity took place till the administration of his successor, Lord Amherst. The history of this conflict will be found in our volume on Birmah, &c., pp. 43—562, 61.

the earth, it has been justly remarked, was an empire of such magnitude acquired with so small an effusion of blood. The whole conquest of India by Great Britain, cost fewer lives than were destroyed by the Spaniards in South America in a single year. The rapidity as well as the extent of the conquest is unparalleled. After many centuries had elapsed, the Mogul power was imperfectly established throughout the territories nominally subjugated to the Emperor of Delhi, which did not include the whole of the peninsula; and it was in the most prosperous years of Aurungzebe's reign, that Sivajee laid the foundations of the Mahratta empire. Nor will the first conquests of Mohammedism bear a comparison with the British conquests in India. In the course of a century, the Khalifs had extended the faith of Islam over Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, and Egypt; but those countries scarcely contained fifty millions of inhabitants; and it is a remarkable fact, that, in the present day, the nations subject to Mohammedan rulers, do not form an aggregate population equal to that which now acknowledges the British sceptre. When to this it is added, that, contrary to the spirit in which all former conquests have been achieved, the Indian empire of Great Britain has been acquired in despite of herself,—in opposition to the policy which denounced all extension of territory as not only undesirable but hurtful,—in spite of acts of parliament and perpetual remonstrances from the body of British Merchants whose interests were at stake,—the phenomenon is still more striking. "For princes and nations to pant for territorial aggrandizement," to cite the words of an intelligent writer, "has in it nothing strange and new; but it is strange for a nation continually to discountenance this spirit in the strongest manner; and still

more strange, that, in the very face of all these prohibitions, a mighty empire should have grown up amidst the anxieties and the habits of commercial speculation. It is not that the British nation has conquered India; rather, unavoidable circumstances have, at length, almost subdued the national aversion to this conquest."* What is more, the very enactments that were intended to arrest the growth of our power, have, as Sir John Malcolm remarks, caused it to be more rapid than it otherwise would have been. Every retrograde step, every attempt to return to a neutral and pacific system, has been followed, and unavoidably, by an accelerated movement in the extension of our dominion.†

But, above all, the conquest of India by Britain is distinguished by its unquestionably beneficent character. To the natives themselves, the destruction of the Mussulman power,—a foreign and despotic yoke,—was a national emancipation from the most degrading oppression. But had it given way only to the Mahratta empire, which, at the commencement of our relations with the native powers, threatened to swallow up the whole country, the change would have been only to a more complete disorganization of society. Notwithstanding all the crimes committed by the British in the first stages of their great mercantile adventure, the acquisition of Bengal cost fewer lives than were lost in a single expedition of the Mogul princes, or in the protection of that province from the Mahrattas during the vigorous reign of the brave Aliverdi. But, in the destruction of the predatory system which was converting the finest provinces into a wilderness, the

* Friend of India, No. V. (1822) p. 46. See also an interesting article in No. xiii. of the same Miscellany.

† Malcolm, P. II., vol. ii. p. 61—3.

British Government has performed a splendid act of justice, policy, and humanity, which fairly entitles it to be regarded as a conservative and beneficent power, whose supremacy has been the deliverance of the people. That system was the baleful dregs of the exhausted military establishments of the Mohammedan dynasties; and it succeeded to the wars of Aurungzebe, like pestilence after famine, rioting in the exhaustion of the country. The Mahratta states, which identified themselves with this system, fell, as they deserved to fall, in consequence of their abetting a conspiracy subversive of all government and social order. Nothing could more plainly indicate the real spirit and character of those native powers, than their alliance with the Pindarry chieftains; and it may be regarded as a fortunate circumstance for India, that the infatuation and weakness of the Peishwa and his confederates, compelled the Governor-General to treat them as enemies and political criminals, towards whom any further forbearance would have entailed both disgrace and danger.

Lord Hastings returned to England in 1823, having filled the station of Governor-General during nine years. At the close of his administration, the gross revenues of the country had been increased four *crore*; "and although the charges had been increased in a similar amount, these had reached their limit, and were in the course of diminution, while the revenue was further on the increase, so as to afford the certainty of an annual surplus more than sufficient to meet the interest of the additional debt."* But the

* Prinsep, vol. ii. p. 452. The political measures of his Lordship's administration added five *crore* to the debt; but this writer contends, that the financial condition of the country, considered merely with reference to the debt, was much the same in 1821, as it was in 1814.

most illustrious feature of his Lordship's civil administration was, its beneficent aspect on the melioration of the intellectual and moral condition of the people of India. Almost every institution that has been formed in that country for the mental improvement of the natives, commenced under his auspices. "For the first time, the cause of Christian benevolence in India received a sanction from an authority which all revered, and which every one felt it safe to follow."* In all respects, the administration of the Marquis of Hastings may be regarded as the commencement of a new and happy era to the millions of British India.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

Our historical sketch, which, owing to the copious and interesting materials, has extended much beyond the limits originally assigned to it, comprises, to a considerable extent, a topographical description of the country. India is, in fact, better known to us from the campaigns of British armies, than from the accounts of peaceful travellers. "Though India," remarked Mrs. Graham, in 1813, "has certainly been visited by a greater number of Englishmen than any foreign country, and has been the subject of innumerable publications, it is remarkable, that there is no work in our language containing such a popular and comprehensive view of its scenery and monuments, and of the manners and habits of its natives and resident colonists, as we are commonly furnished with by travellers in countries incomparably less deserving of notice. The chief reason of this probably is, that few

* Friend of India, vol. ii. p. 425

people go to this remote region as mere idle or philosophical observers; and that, of the multitude of well-educated individuals who pass the best of their days in it, the greater part are too constantly occupied with the cares and duties of their respective vocations, as statesmen, soldiers, or traders, to pay much attention to what is merely curious or interesting to a contemplative spectator. Having, for the most part, too, the prospect of a long residence, they rarely think, on their first arrival, of recording or digesting the impressions which they receive from the spectacle that is spread before them; and wait so long to mature and extend their information, that the interest of novelty is lost, and the scene becomes too familiar to seem any longer worth the trouble of a careful delineation. The fact accordingly is, that almost all our modern publications on the subject of India, are entirely occupied with its political and military history,—details and suggestions upon its trade and commercial resources—and occasionally with discussions upon the more recondite parts of its literary or mythological antiquities."* Fifteen years have elapsed since these remarks were made; and yet, previously to the recent publication of Bishop Heber's Journal, no work of any consequence had appeared to supply the *desideratum*.

Of the older travellers, Bernier is the most intelligent and trustworthy: Major Rennell styles him the most instructive of all East Indian travellers. He spent twelve years in the country, during eight of

* Graham's Journal, 4to. *pref.* Speaking of an English traveller whom he met with at Lucknow, Bishop Heber says: "Mr Hyde is a great traveller, and the only Englishman whom I have heard of, except Lord Valentia, who has visited India from motives exclusively of science and curiosity, since the country has been in our possession .... This gentleman is merely making a tour."

which he acted as physician to the Emperor Aurungzebe. He, therefore, saw the court of the Great Mogul in the zenith of its magnificence. He accompanied a nobleman in the imperial suite, on the temporary removal of the court to Cashmere ; and he was an eye-witness of many of the principal transactions which distinguished the first ten years of the reign of the great Allumghire. His work is valuable, however, chiefly on account of the light which it throws upon the political state of the country at that period, and upon the manners and customs of the people under the dominion of their Moslem conquerors. It belongs to history, rather than to topography ; for, with the exception of the Letters comprising the narrative of his excursion to Cashmere, there is little information of a geographical kind. It detracts too from the value of his work, that a considerable portion of it was drawn up from recollection after he had left the country. Thevenot (the younger) spent about fifteen months in the Deccan, during which time he collected a great deal of information respecting the almost unknown country, with the assistance chiefly, it is supposed, of the Capuchins of Surat. He saw but little of the country himself. Tavernier journeyed, according to his own account, through most of the provinces of the empire, and in more directions than any other traveller. He has given a number of routes, and his work contains a mass of curious and sometimes valuable materials.* But it was chiefly dictated from memory, in part from imagination ; its statements often rest on mere hearsay authority, and the veracity of this Traveller is, in some instances,

* There is one subject to which he devoted more attention than any other traveller, namely, the diamond-mines of Golcondah and Orissa, of which the fullest account will be found in his Travels.

questionable. Carré, Dillon, De la Haye, and Fryer, all visited the peninsula between 1660 and 1680; but their opportunities of observation were extremely limited, and they are cited chiefly for the information they furnish as to the political state of the country at that period. De Graaf visited Patna in 1669, where the Dutch then had a factory; and Manderslo, in the year 1638, travelled from the capital of Gujerat to Agra, and afterwards to Bejapore in the Deccan. The latter, consequently, saw more of India than any traveller of the seventeenth century, except Tavernier; and his narrative, edited by Olearius, bears a high character for intelligence and fidelity.

The geography of India was still in a most crude and imperfect state, when, towards the close of the eighteenth century, Major Rennell gave to the public his invaluable "Memoir of a Map of Hindostan." In his preface, he remarks, that "we must not go much further back than thirty-five years (from 1788), for the matter that forms the basis of the map." * The materials of which the learned author availed himself, consisted chiefly of the local information obtained by the marches of the British armies during the Mysore war; of astronomical observations and hydrographic surveys; together with the route of Mr. George Forster, in the year 1783–4, from Bengal, by way of Jummoo, to Cashmere. A short time before, a Mr. Hodges, who had, in the capacity of draftsman, accompanied Captain Cook in his voyage round the world, was tempted to undertake an excursion in search of the picturesque into India. He commenced his journey at Madras, but, being unable

* Rennell, p. iv. In the time of D'Anville, the Brahmapootra was unknown as one of the principal rivers of India.

to penetrate into the interior, sailed for Calcutta; whence he proceeded up the Ganges, to Monghir, and subsequently visited Patna, Benares, Lucknow, and Agra. His work is of little value or interest.

A considerable interval now occurs, during which no work of importance appeared relative to India, supplying additional information of a topographical or general nature. In the year 1800, Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) undertook a journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, under the orders of Marquis Wellesley, for the purpose of investigating the state of agriculture, the arts and commerce, the manners and customs, &c. in Mysore and the ceded territories. His journal (published in this country in 1807, in three volumes 4to.) is a valuable but ill-arranged work, for the most part occupied with tedious statistical details, without any attempt at compression. Lord Valentia arrived at Calcutta in January 1803. He visited Benares, Lucknow, and Canouje; and subsequently, Madras, Bangalore, Seringapatam, and Mysore; Bombay, Poonah, and Chinchoor. His volumes are highly interesting, but are chargeable with a fault the very opposite of that which attaches to Dr. Buchanan's journal, being deficient in specific description and information. Mrs. Maria Graham went to India early in 1809; she spent some months in Bombay, during which curiosity induced her to make an excursion into the interior as far as Poonah; and she subsequently visited the island of Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta, which was the termination of her Indian travels. Her journal, therefore, with the exception of Poonah and the capital of the Bengal Presidency, describes only the country immediately on the coast. In the same year (1813), however, a far more valuable and elaborate work was given to the

public,—the "Oriental Memoirs" of Mr. Forbes. The Author has distributed over four volumes 4to., an immense mass of interesting information, the result of "seventeen years' residence in India;" and it is only to be regretted that, owing to the extremely desultory, miscellaneous, and sentimental complexion of the contents, the work should have been unnecessarily swelled to so inconvenient dimensions. The Author of "Sketches of India" has presented us a slight but delightful volume, and we shall gladly avail ourselves of his picturesque illustrations. But the most important accession to our stores of information, incomparably, is the narrative of the lamented Bishop Heber, of whose admirable qualifications as a traveller, the notes to the Travels of his friend, Dr. D. E. Clarke, had supplied ample evidence. Those who have journeyed in India, will best appreciate the industry with which the Bishop kept his journal, which presents the vivid transcript of his first impressions on traversing the sphere of his jurisdiction. The activity of his mind seems to have been excited, rather than diminished, by an enervating and oppressive climate. Uniting with a constant reference to the primary object of his tour, and the business of his sacred office, the enthusiasm of the traveller, he extended his journey in all directions; exploring, in succession, the labyrinths of the Gangetic Delta, the fertile plains of Bengal and Bahar, the forests of Kumaoon, the roots of the mighty Himalaya, and the scorching sands of Gujerat. In the course of his brief administration, he visited both the other presidencies, besides making a tour in Ceylon. We cannot adopt a better plan, in the ensuing description, than to follow the Bishop through the regions which he explored; adhering for the most

part (though we must occasionally part company with our interesting guide) to the same route.

CALCUTTA.

AFTER a voyage of between three and four months, the sight of land is always welcome; but nothing can be more desolate and unpleasing than the entrance to the Hooghly, the sacred branch of the mighty Ganges, up which the voyager has yet to be piloted a hundred miles, before he reaches the capital. To the west, as far as the eye can reach, extend frightful breakers; and on the east, is seen the flat and swampy shore of the Island of Saugor, covered with jungle, about the height of young coppice-wood, with, here and there, tall trees, dark as firs. On approaching it, some ruinous cottages and barn-like buildings are descried, the remains of a village begun by a joint-company, who undertook, a few years ago, to cut down the thickets and reclaim the marshes of Saugor; but it was found that, as the woods were cut down on this side, the sea encroached, and the land was again abandoned to its wild deer and tigers. As the resort of the latter animals, the wilder parts of the island are much dreaded by the natives; and it is well, Bishop Heber remarks, that the terror they inspire, deters idle seamen and young officers from venturing on shooting excursions, so much as they otherwise would, on a shore so dreadfully pestilential as are all these marshy islets, beneath "a hot and copper sky." Saugor is still more infamous as the yearly scene of human sacrifice, where Hindoo mothers might once be seen throwing their infants into the jaws of the sea monsters. The temple of the infernal goddess,

Kali, is now ruined; but, from the spot where it once stood, many an infatuated votary still devotes himself to destruction.* "To these Sunderbunds," says Lord Valentia, "the Hindoos resort at this season (January) in immense numbers, to perform their ablutions to the Ganges; and many, to sacrifice themselves to the alligators, which they effect by walking into the river, and waiting till the ferocious animals approach and draw them under. Others perish by the tigers every season; yet, the powerful influence of superstition still draws them to this spot." † "One of the first specimens of the manners of the country, which has fallen under our notice," says Bishop Heber, "has been a human corpse, slowly floating past, according to the well-known custom of the Hindoos."

The river itself is grand, from its vast body of water; but the quantity of mud which it rolls down, considerably lessens its beauty. The general character of the western shore and the "coffee-coloured" stream, reminded Bishop Heber, at first, of the Don, between Tcherkask and Asof; but, on approaching the Saugor side, all resemblance to the Don disappeared. "Nothing met the eye but a dismal and unbroken line of thick, black wood and thicket, apparently impenetrable and interminable, which one might easily imagine to be the habitation of every thing monstrous, disgusting, and dangerous, from the tiger and the cobra de capello, down to the scorpion and moskito; from the thunder-storm to the fever. The seamen and officers spoke of this shore with

* The sacrifice of children at Saugor was abolished in 1802, by an order of the Governor-General (Marquis Wellesley) in Council, by which the practice was declared to be murder, punishable with death. This law, however, does not restrain from suicide.

† Valentia, v. i. p. 35.

horror, as the grave of all who were so unfortunate as to remain many days in its neighbourhood. As we drew nearer to the Sunderbunds, their appearance improved. The woods assumed a greater variety of green and of shade; several round-topped trees and some low palms were seen among them, and a fresh vegetable fragrance was wafted from the shore. The stream is here intense, and its struggle with the spring-tide raises waves of a dark-coloured water. The forms of the coco-palms are extremely graceful, but their verdure is black and funereal, and they have something of the appearance of the plumes carried before a hearse. Their presence, however, announced a more open and habitable country. The jungle receded from the shore, and its place was supplied by extremely green fields of rice, interspersed with small woods of round-headed trees, and villages of huts, thatched, and with their mud walls so low, that they look like hay-stacks." *

Vessels that draw more than seventeen feet water, cannot be taken higher than Diamond Harbour without danger, except at spring tide; here, therefore, the Company's ships usually unload. This place (about 34 miles below Calcutta, in a straight line, but much more by the windings of the river) is interesting only as being the first possession of the East India Company in Bengal. From July to September, it is particularly unhealthy, owing to the low, swampy shores; where, during the rains, a number of rivulets, charged with decayed vegetable matter, open into the Hooghly. Some ruinous warehouses and an ugly, dingy brick building with a flag-staff, are all that are to be seen, except a few native huts, which hold

* Heber, v. i. (8vo.) p. 7.

out to the seamen the temptation of a "hot unwholesome toddy."

After leaving Diamond Harbour, the river scenery gradually assumes a richer and more pleasing aspect. The banks abound with villages, interspersed with rice-fields, plantations of the coco-palm, and groves of trees resembling in colour and foliage the elm.* Here and there is seen a pagoda,—"dingy buildings, with one or more high towers, like glass-houses." The Hooghly is still of vast width and rapidity; and, when the wind is contrary, it is necessary to tack, as at sea, in order to stem the current. Large vessels of strange and novel forms are seen. The usual *panchway*, or passage-boat, is large and broad, "shaped like a snuffer-dish;" a deck fore and aft, and the middle covered with a roof of palm-branches, over which is lashed a coarse cloth, as a shelter from the burning sun. The *serang* (master) stands on the little after-deck, steering with a long oar; six rowers, sitting cross-legged on the deck, ply their short paddles as oars; and a large, long sail of transparent sack-cloth completes the equipment. The Maldivian vessels have a very singular appearance, being raised

* Bishop Heber landed at two of these villages, which he describes as highly picturesque. "The houses stood literally in a thicket of fruit-trees, plantains, and flowering shrubs; the muddy ponds were covered with the broad-leaved lotus; and the adjacent paddy-fields were terminated by a wood of tall coco-nut trees, between whose stems the light was visible." But most of the people looked unhealthy, the excessive humidity to which the exuberance of the vegetation is owing, being unfriendly to animal life. Most of the huts were surrounded with stagnant water; and in the time of inundation, the greater part of the country is liable to be covered. Besides tamarinds, cocos, palmiras, plantains, and banian-trees, the Bishop noticed the *neem*,—"a tree not very unlike the acacia, the leaves of which are used to keep moths from books and clothes;" and a tree resembling a large rhododendron, which he supposed to be manchineel, yielding a milky juice when punctured.

to an immense height above the water, by upper-works of split-bamboo, with very lofty heads and sterns, immense sails, and crowded with a wild and energetic-looking race of mariners. They sail very fast and near the wind. Bengalee and Chittagong vessels also, with high heads and sterns, and immense rudders, are numerous; and three-masted Arab vessels of completely European build, but with the stern over-loaded with open galleries and verandahs. The old clumsy Arab *dow* is now seldom seen, and the general construction of the brigs and sloops, though clumsily rigged, indicate a gradual adoption of European habits. The navigation from Saugor to Calcutta is very difficult, owing to the intricacy of the passages between the sand-banks. At length, the river becomes clearer, and the scenery is enlivened by the country-seats of the Europeans on each bank,—"white staring houses," with extensive porticoes to the south, the windows closed with green Venetian blinds, and surrounded with plantations of mangoes, jacks, and other oriental forest and shrubbery trees. The increasing signs of cultivation and populousness now give notice of an approach to a great capital.

Europeans generally land, on their arrival, at Chandpal Ghaut; on approaching which, Calcutta appears to great advantage. The view comprises "a large, regular and handsome fortress, a palace-looking government-house, a wide and grand esplanade, many magnificent houses on one side of it, and a range of stately edifices beyond it; a little above this ghaut, an anchorage crowded with shipping, and a close-built city, containing upwards of 80,000 houses." * Calcutta now extends along the eastern bank of the Hooghly, from Kidderpore to Cossipore, a distance of

* Sketches of India, p. 90.

six miles; its breadth, however, is in no part very considerable. The bold reach of the river at the head of which it stands, (called from the villas and gardens on its banks, Garden Reach,) is truly beautiful. The spacious and elegant houses, with the shrubberies and lawns, give to the cheerful scene an air both of costliness and taste.

The stranger may, by this time, form some idea of the vivid contrasts, the sudden transitions, the motley, gorgeous, picturesque spectacle, the grand and vile, the gay and sad extremes, the glare and darkness, which, in moral as well as in physical nature, India exhibits. Bishop Heber's lively description of the scene which presented itself on his landing, will afford some additional touches to the picture.

"At a distance of about nine miles from the place where we left the yacht," (to take to the *bholiahs* or row-boats,) "we landed among some tall bamboos, and walked near a quarter of a mile to the front of a deserted, dingy-looking house, near some powder-mills. Here we found carriages waiting for us, drawn by small horses with switch tails, and driven by postilions with whiskers, turbans, bare legs and arms, and blue jackets with tawdry yellow lace. A *saees* (groom) ran by the side of each horse; and behind one of them were two decent-looking men with long beards and white cotton dresses, who introduced themselves as my *peons* or *hurkarus*: their badges were, a short mace or club of silver, of a crooked form, and terminating in a tiger's head, (something resembling a Dacian standard as represented on Trajan's pillar,) and a long silver stick with a knob at the head. We set out at a round trot; the *saeeses* keeping their places very nimbly on each side of us, though on foot, along a raised, broadish, but bad road,

with deep ditches of stagnant water on each side, beyond which stretched out an apparently interminable wood of fruit-trees, interspersed with cottages: some seemed to be shops, being entirely open, with verandahs, and all chiefly made up of mats and twisted bamboo. The crowd of people was considerable, and kept up something like the appearance of a fair along the whole line of road. Many were in bullock-carts; others were driving loaded bullocks before them; a few had wretched poneys, which, as well as the bullocks, bore too many and indubitable marks of neglect and hard treatment. Few women were seen: those who appeared, had somewhat more clothing than the men,—a coarse white veil (*chuddah*) thrown over their heads, without hiding their faces, their arms bare, and ornamented with large silver *bangles* or bracelets. By degrees, we began to see dingy brick buildings of more pretensions to architecture, but far more ugly than the rudest bamboo hut,—the abodes of Hindoos or Mussulmans of the middle class; flat-roofed, with narrow casement windows, and inclosed with a brick wall, which prevented all curious eyes from prying into their domestic economy. These were soon after mingled with the large and handsome edifices of Garden Reach, each standing by itself in a little woody lawn, (a compound they call it here, by an easy corruption from the Portuguese word *campaña*,) and consisting of one or more stories, with a Grecian verandah along their whole length of front. As we entered Kidderpoor, European carriages were seen, and our eyes were met by a police-soldier standing sentry in the corner of the street, nearly naked, but armed with a sabre and shield;—a pagoda or two; a greater variety of articles in the shops; a greater crowd in the streets; and a considerable num-

ber of *caranchies* or native carriages, each drawn by two horses, and looking like the skeletons of hackney-coaches in our own country. From Kidderpoor, we passed by a mean wooden bridge over a muddy creek, which brought us to an extensive open plain like a race-course; at the extremity of which we saw Calcutta, its white houses glittering through the twilight with an effect not unlike that of Connaught-place and its neighbourhood as seen from a distance across Hyde Park." *

"As the evening closes in," (here we borrow a different pencil,) "the crowds of carriages disperse; and about half an hour after, you see the glare of torches in all directions, lighting the coaches and palankeens hurrying along to the splendid entertainments, of which there is a constant succession among the opulent and luxurious inhabitants of Calcutta. At twelve, you may see them returning home; and if the oppressive heat drives you, as it often does, to the roof or balcony of your house for air, soon after, when all is dark and silent round you, the cry of jackals, suddenly and wildly breaking forth, then ceasing, then again nearer or close to you, may be distinctly heard. You are then reminded, that this city is the quick growth of a century; that, where they are, it is still half jungle; that at Chowringhee, where you now stand in a spacious verandah supported by Grecian pillars, only sixty short years ago, the defenceless villagers could scarcely bar out the prowling tiger; and that, were this city to become suddenly depopulated, in sixty more, these perishable palaces of timber, brick, and *chunam* would totally disappear, and rank vegetation conceal the very ground they stand upon." †

* Heber, vol. 1. pp. 20—23.
† Sketches of India, pp. 94, 5.

"The aspect of morning is sweet and refreshing in the East. Night's deep shades having restored objects to an agreeable temperature, the eye rests and recreates upon them in that short period during which they can be seen to advantage; as they lose the power of gladdening the sight in the glare that overpreads them soon after sun-rise. Crowds of Hindoos approach the river during this delightful interval, to bathe and perform their devotions. They bring with them small images representing some of their thirty thousand millions of gods; and such as have none, make little idols of the mud of the Ganges, which they set upon the bank, and adore. The men and women go down into the water together, dressed as they come to the river, except that many of the former, who wear turbans, long gowns, and slippers, lay these articles aside, and bathe in their trowsers only. On coming out, they wring their wet garments, which dry in going home. The women often strip in the river, wash their apparel, and dress there again; for the female dress is generally composed of one long piece of cloth, the end of which is rolled several times round the waist, whence it flows in graceful folds down to the ancle; the other end is drawn tastefully round the chest, so as to cover the back also, and serve as a veil. They wear rings in their noses and ears, and on their fingers and toes, with bracelets on their wrists, arms, and legs, of gold, silver, brass, ivory, glass, bone, or horn, according to their circumstances. Their forms are graceful and of commanding air, from the erect and majestic step common among the women of Hindostan." *

Of these morning devotions, ablution is an essential

* Wallace's Fifteen Years, p. 63.

and leading part. "The rest consists, in general, in repeatedly touching the forehead and cheeks with white, red, or yellow earth, and exclamations of *Ram! Ram!* There are some Brahmins, however, always about this time seated on the bank under the trees, who keep counting their beads, turning over the leaves of their banana-leaf books, and muttering their prayers with considerable seeming devotion, and for a long time together. These are *gooroos*, or religious teachers, and seem much respected. Children and young persons are seen continually kneeling down to them, and making them little offerings; but the wealthier Hindoos seldom stop their palankeens for such a purpose. Where the esplanade-walk joins Calcutta, a very handsome quay is continued along the side of the river, resembling, in every thing but the durability of material, the quays of Petersburgh. It is, unhappily, of brick, instead of granite, and is as yet unfinished; but many houses and public buildings are rising on it, and it bids fair to be a very great additional ornament and convenience to Calcutta. Vessels of all descriptions, to the burden of 600 tons, may lie almost close up to this quay; and there is always a crowd of ships and barks, as well as a very interesting assemblage of strangers of all sorts and nations to be seen. Of these, perhaps the Arabs, who are numerous, are the most striking from their comparative fairness, their fine bony and muscular figures, their noble countenances and picturesque dress. They are said to be extremely intelligent, bold, and active, but very dirty in their ships, and excessively vain and insolent when they have the opportunity of being so with impunity."

In several respects, although built on a less splendid scale, Calcutta strongly reminded Bishop Heber of

Petersburgh. "The architecture of the principal houses is the same, with Italian porticoes, and all white-washed or stuccoed; and the width and straightness of the principal streets, the want of pavement, the forms of the peasants' carts, and the crowds of foot-passengers in every street, as well as the multitude of servants, the want of furniture in the houses, and, above all, the great dinner parties which are one distinguishing feature of the place, are all Muscovite." * In both the Russian and the Anglo-Indian capital, the architecture and mixed character of the place result from a combination of European art and luxury with the gorgeous pride of the East. Both owe their creation to the spirit of commercial enterprise, grafting mercantile wealth upon an Asiatic despotism. And in both instances, the political recommendations of the situation have led the founders to overlook the serious drawback of its physical disadvantages.

The site of Calcutta is an almost perfect level of alluvial and marshy ground, which, a century ago, was covered with jungle and stagnant pools, and which still almost every where betrays its unsoundness by the cracks conspicuous in the best houses. To the east, at the distance of four miles and a half, is a large but shallow lagoon of salt water, from which a canal is cut pretty nearly to the town, and towards which all the drainings of the city flow. To the south of the city, a branch of the Hooghly, called Tolly's Nullah, flows into the Sunderbunds: on its banks are the suburbs of Kidderpoor

* Heber, vol. iii. p. 267. The Author, in another letter, expresses himself still more strongly as to the "extreme similarity of every thing to Russia, making allowance only for the black, instead of the white faces, and the difference of climate."—Ib. p. 226.

and Allypoor. Westward, flows the Hooghly, "at least twice as broad as the Thames below London bridge," covered with large ships and craft of all kinds, and affording, on its further bank, the prospect of another considerable suburb,—that of Howrah. To the north, the two great roads to Dumdum and Barrackpoor lie over a vast extent of fertile country, divided into rice-fields, orchards, and gardens, covered with a thick shade of fruit-trees, and swarming with an innumerable population, occupying the large suburbs of Cossipoor, Chitpoor, &c. The intermediate space between the salt lake and the city, is likewise filled with gardens, orchards, and villages; but the proximity of the "bad water" renders this district extremely unhealthy, and few Europeans reside there. The dwellings of the natives are sometimes of considerable size, but are mostly "wretched huts clustered in irregular groupes, round large square tanks, and connected by narrow, winding, unpaved streets and lanes, amid tufts of bamboos, coco-trees, and plantains; picturesque and striking to the sight, but extremely offensive to the smell, from the quantity of putrid water, the fumes of wood-smoke, coco-nut oil, and, above all, the *ghee*, the Hindoo's principal luxury." The tract to the northward, is drier, healthier, and more open. The rides round Calcutta are very pleasing. As soon as its boundary is passed, the roads "wind through beautiful villages, overhung with the finest and most picturesque foliage the world can shew, of the banyan, the palm, the tamarind, and more beautiful perhaps than all, the bamboo. Sometimes the glade opens to plains covered, at this time (December 15), with the rice-harvest, or to a sight of the broad, bright river, with its ships and wooded shores; sometimes it contracts into little winding

tracks through fruit-trees, gardens, and cottages; the gardens fenced in with hedges of aloe-and pine-apple; the cottages neater than those of Calcutta, and mostly of mats and white wicker-work, with thatched roofs and cane verandahs, with gourds trailing over them, and the broad, tall plantains clustering round them." *

The road which borders Calcutta and Chowringhee, (whimsically called the Circular Road,) runs along nearly the same line that was once occupied by a wide ditch and mound, raised by the early settlers (in 1742) as a defence against the Mahrattas, and well known under the name of the Mahratta ditch. The Marquis Wellesley caused the rampart to be levelled, and the fosse to be filled up. This is the boundary of the liberties of Calcutta and of English law. All offences committed within this line are tried by the *Sudder Nizamut Adawlut*, or Supreme Court of Justice. Those beyond fall, in the first instance, within the cognizance of the local magistracy, and, in case of appeal, are determined by the *Sudder Dewanee Adawlut*, or Supreme Civil Court, whose proceedings are guided by the Koran and the Laws of Menu.

The interior of Calcutta, as is the case in all eastern cities, by no means corresponds to the imposing effect of its first appearance. When seen from the south, occupying two sides of a great open plain, with the Hooghly on the west, it must be acknowledged to be a very noble city. "The churches," Bishop Heber says, "are not large, but very neat and even elegant buildings, and the government-house is, to say the least of it, a more shewy palace than London has to produce. These are, however, the *front lines*; behind them ranges the native town, deep, black, and dingy,

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 30—31; vol. iii. p. 241.

with narrow, crooked streets, huts of earth baked in the sun, or of twisted bamboos, interspersed here and there with ruinous brick bazars, pools of dirty water, coco-trees, and little gardens, and a few very large, very fine, and generally very dirty houses of Grecian architecture, the residence of wealthy natives. There are some mosques of pretty architecture and very neatly kept, and some pagodas, but mostly ruinous and decayed; the religion of the people being chiefly conspicuous in their worship of the Ganges, and in some ugly-painted wooden or plaster idols, with all manner of heads and arms, which are set up in different parts of the city. Fill up this outline with a crowd of people in the streets, beyond any thing to be seen even in London, some dressed in tawdry silks and brocades, more in white cotton garments, and most of all black and naked, except a scanty covering round the waist; besides figures of religious mendicants with no clothing but their long hair and beards in elf locks, their faces painted white or yellow, their beads in one ghastly lean hand, and the other stretched out like a bird's claw, to receive donations; marriage processions, with the bride in a covered chair and the bridegroom on horseback, so swathed round with garlands as hardly to be seen; tradesmen sitting on the ground in the midst of their different commodities; and old men, lookers-on, perched, naked as monkeys, on the flat roofs of the houses; carts drawn by oxen, and driven by wild-looking men with thick sticks, so unmercifully used as to undeceive perfectly all our notions of brahminical humanity; attendants with silver maces, pressing through the crowd before the carriage of some great man or other; no women seen, except of the lowest class, and even these with heavy silver ornaments on their dusky arms and ankles;

while coaches, covered up close with red cloth, are seen conveying the inmates of the neighbouring seraglios to take what is called 'the air;' a constant creaking of cart-wheels, which are never greased in India, a constant clamour of voices, and an almost constant thumping and jingling of drums, cymbals, &c. in honour of some of their deities; and add to all this, a villanous smell of garlic, rancid coco-nut oil, sour butter, and stagnant ditches; and you will understand the sounds, sights, and smells of what is called the 'Black Town' of Calcutta."

"The external meanness of all the shops, depositories, and warehouses in this great city, is surprising. The bazars are wretchedness itself, without any approach to those covered walks which are the chief glory of the cities of Turkey, Russia, and Persia, and which, in a climate like this, where both the sun and the rains are intolerable, would be more than any where else desirable....There is absolutely not a single minaret in Calcutta. None of the mosques are seen in any general view of Calcutta, being too small, too low, and built in too obscure corners to be visible, till one is close upon them. They rather, indeed, resemble the tombs of saints, than places for public worship, such as are seen in Turkey, Persia, and the south of Russia. Though diminutive, however, many of them are pretty; and the sort of eastern-gothic style in which they are built, is, to my eye, though trained up to the reverence of the pure English style, extremely pleasing. They consist generally of a parallelogram of about thirty-six feet by twelve, or hardly so much, surmounted with three little domes, the apex of each terminated by a flower, with small but richly ornamented pinnacles in the angles. The faces of the building are covered with a good deal of arabesque

tracery, and pierced with a small door of gothic form, in the centre of one of the longest faces, and a small window of almost similar form, on each side. Opposite to the door, which opens eastward, and on the western side, is a small recess, which serves to enshrine the Koran, and to direct the eyes of the faithful to the *kibla* of Mecca. The taste of these little oratories is better than their materials, which are unfortunately, in this part of India, nothing but brick covered with plaster: while they last, however, they are really great ornaments to the lanes and villages where they o... and might furnish some advantageous hints, I think, to the Christian architects of India."*

The stranger will be disappointed, who has formed any exalted idea of the splendour of the equipages in the Anglo-Indian metropolis. The horses are, for the most part, both small and poor, "while the dirty white dresses and ...re limbs of their attendants, have, to an unaccustomed eye, an appearance of any thing but wealth and splendour."† In the number and variety only of the equipages, which crowd the fashionable drive at sunset, he finds matter for surprise and amusement. "Many hundred coaches, chariots, barouches, curricles, tilburies, and humble gigs, give, by his familiarity with the sight of such conveyances, an air of England; and, by his ever associating the possession of them with rank or easy circumstances, one of splendour. But a something in black coachmen, dressed in muslin and turbans, inferior cattle, awkward driving, and harness ill put together, in spite of many handsome, and some English-built carriages, tells the eye, that much will

* Heber, vol. iii. pp. 238, 9; vol. i. pp. 96—8.
† Heber, v. i. p. 29.

long be wanting before the chariot and pair on the Calcutta course, can vie with that of Hyde Park. The young dashers in their tilburies, who instruct their servants in the art of cleaning and putting-to, and drive themselves, perhaps contrive a closer resemblance to English style, than the elder and more sensibly indolent residents trouble themselves to affect. As for the number of conveyances, the European in India is carried, according to his fancy or means, wherever he has to go; and hardly ever walks, either for pleasure or business, a thousand yards. Many of the Armenian and native merchants adopt our carriages, and imitate our manners in some particulars, although retaining their own costume; so that you may see the high-pointed cap of the one, and the turban of the other, in landaus or barouches, built after the make of Long Acre. At the furthest extremity of the course, you may often chance to meet a son of Tippoo's, wrapped in shawls, and lolling in a phaëton; and you see native merchants continually in gigs or on horseback." * "The palankeen is only used by Europeans for very short distances, if their incomes are sufficiently large to admit of their keeping coach or bandy horses for change." *

The streets of Calcutta present many features of novelty, even to an inhabitant of either of the other Presidencies. "The palankeen-bearers are, on this side, almost all from Balasore, or some of the Northern Circars: they are naked and bare-headed, and run silently. There are numbers of bullocks and one-horse *hackrees*, with cotton canopies, and backs and cushions to sit on in the native fashion. There are also two or three hundred small, ill-built, coarse-

* Sketches of India, pp. 93–7.

painted coaches, drawn by wretched country poneys. They are more clumsily put together, than the pigeon-house jingles of Dublin; nor are they ever used by respectable persons, European or native. But by these, many a common sailor, who gets four and twenty hours' leave, is spared the trouble of staggering to look at the city, or regain his boat; and natives of low caste, or of none, are carried as their business calls them, from suburb to suburb, or ghaut to ghaut, for a mere trifle. Lascars, or the sailors of the Indian seas, may be seen here in great numbers. Small scull-caps, edged only, or covered with embroidery, short close vests, and wide petticoat trowsers, mark them in dress, and they have generally thick bushy heads of hair, a tawny complexion, and stout limbs. They spend the earnings of many months' labour with a lavishness which surprises even an Englishman; they drink freely, and will stake their last dollar, and even clothes, at play. These vices are common to the lower classes of Calcutta itself, to which they add a taste for tawdry gilt ornaments and common lace; they also consume great quantities of opium and coarse confectionary, or preparations of sugar. It is incredible what large sums are thus expended during their great festivals.

"Although these indulgent excesses are more common among the Moors than the Hindoos, yet it is a most erroneous and mistaken notion, to suppose that these last are free from the vices above mentioned. At the corner of every street, you may see the Gentoo bearers gambling over chalked-out squares, with small stones for men, and with wooden dice; or *Coolies* playing with cards of the palm-leaf. Nay, in a pagoda, under the very shadow of the idol, I have seen Brahmins playing with regular packs of Chinese cards!

As for intoxication, many Hindoos, who reject arrack, drink toddy till they are scarcely able to walk; and smoke opium, till they can neither see nor speak.

"The Bengalees are, as a race of men, very inferior, I think, to those on the coast; they are small, slightly made, and very black; great numbers of them go naked; and although they are doubtless as clean as the corresponding classes at Fort St. George, yet, as all their clothes are dark-coloured and unbleached, they do not appear so. Their huts, too, are commonly made of bamboo, matting, and thatch, and have, unless when new, a very mean appearance. The servants form in Calcutta quite a distinct class, and are generally Mohammedans." "Nothing, at first, can be more striking than the difference between the native domestics of Madras and Calcutta. A robe fitting closely round the body, but loose and long below; wide sleeves hanging open from the lower or fore-arm; large full trowsers; slippers; turbans sitting flat and close to the top of the head, but with several narrow, projecting folds, half-shading the neck and face; compose the universal dress. In speaking, they join and lift the hands, bending forward with a soliciting and respectful look. They none of them speak English; are remarkably clean in their dress and persons, and graceful in their motions." *

The state in which the high officers of Government appear in Calcutta, and the sort of deference paid to them, are truly oriental. "They are said to be necessary," remarks Bishop Heber, "in conformity with native ideas and the example set by the first conquerors, who took their tone from the Mussulmans, whom they supplanted. All members of council, and

* Sketches of India, pp. 99—100; 91.

others, down to the rank of puisne judges inclusive, are preceded by two men with silver sticks, and two others with heavy silver maces; * and they have in society some queer regulations, which forbid any person to quit a party before the lady or gentleman of most rank rises to take leave." † "The Brahminical institution of castes," says Mr. Wallace, "seems to have communicated its principles to the ranks and classes of European society in Calcutta. A civilian's lady considers herself as a superior being to the wife of an officer; and the latter looks down with contempt upon the partner of a country captain, who, in her turn, despises the shopkeeper, and frets if neglected by the merchant's wife. Society in Calcutta, is, therefore, a formation of parties, and there is nothing like a general or liberal intercourse among Europeans. Public assemblies are unpopular; but there is no country in the world where hospitality is greater than in those castes into which the sojourners are divided. Large parties sit down every day to dinner; and during the winter, balls and suppers take place every night. In short, the only general society in Calcutta is at the Government-house, to which every man having the rank and character of a gentleman is invited frequently." ‡

* "During Lady Amherst's progress through the Botanical Gardens, I observed, that, besides her usual attendants of gilt sticks and maces, two men with spears, also richly gilt, and two more with swords and bucklers, went before her. This custom is, so far as I have seen at present, confined to the Governor and his family; but I understand it used to be the case with most persons of condition in Calcutta."—Heber, vol. i. p. 54.

† Heber, vol. ii. p. 228.

‡ Fifteen Years in India, p. 396. "The British merchants in Calcutta are a numerous and respectable order of men. Several of them have acquired large fortunes. They here display an expense and splendour in their manner of living, seldom aspired after by the same order of men in any part of the world; and what is

Luxury is said to prevail in Calcutta to a far greater degree than at Madras or Bombay. The usual routine of living is similar, but "much more gorgeous." Of what are called "the luxuries of the East," however, Bishop Heber professes himself unable to give a very exalted description. Speaking of the natural productions, he says:—"All the fruits now in season (October), are inferior to those in England. The oranges, though pleasant, are small and acid; the plantain is but an indifferent mellow pear; the shaddock has no merit but juiciness, and a slight bitter taste, which is reckoned good in fevers; and the *guava* is an almost equal mixture of raspberry-jam and garlic." Of the *curries*, the *palows* and the *mulligatawnies*, and all the delicacies of the native kitchen, the Author does not deign to speak. He even forbears to notice "the greatest delicacy in the world," esteemed by some of the Calcutta epicures, itself worth a voyage of fifteen thousand miles,—the mango-fish of the Hooghly, "which is as beautful to the eye as it is delightful to the taste. With the flavour of the mango fruit, it combines the colour and richness of the trout, and has a fine large roe, which cannot be

greatly to their honour, their acts of charity and munificence have never, perhaps, been equalled by any similar number of men of any rank whatever. Few of these gentlemen are engaged in *the service;* a circumstance here of more consequence than may be apprehended. The service of the Company has here certain ideas of rank and consequence attached to it, which often produces ludicrous effects upon the intercourse of society. All persons in civil and military appointments affect a degree of superiority over such as are not in the service, which is frequently ill supported either by their talents, birth, or character. At the public entertainments, rank was formerly a matter of much greater concern at Calcutta, than at St. James's. To hand a lady to table or to her carriage, is an affair that requires deep cogitation: if it be aspired to by a gentleman whose rank is unequal to the office, instead of paying a compliment, he commits an unpardonable offence." Tennant's Recreations, v. i. pp. 57, 8. But this was five-and-twenty years ago.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

compared to any thing. For two months in the year, this charming fish is caught in plenty; and the roes are preserved and always appear at table." * The Bishop, in fact, found the artificial luxuries not more remarkable than the natural ones. "They are only inventions," he remarks, "judicious and elegant ones, certainly, to get rid of real and severe inconveniences; while all those circumstances in which an Englishman mainly places his ideas of comfort or splendour, such as horses, carriages, glass, furniture, &c., are, in Calcutta, generally paltry and extravagantly dear. In fact, the real luxuries of India, when we can get them, are cold water and cold air. But, though the luxury and splendour are less, the society is better than I expected."

"There are some circumstances," adds the Bishop, "in Calcutta dwellings, which at first surprise and annoy a stranger. The lofty rooms swarm with cockroaches and insects; sparrows and other birds fly in and out all day; and, as soon as the candles are lighted, large bats flutter on their indented wings, like Horace's *curæ*, round our *laqueata tecta*,—if this name could be applied to roofs without any ceiling at all, where the beams are left naked and visible, lest the depredations of the white ant should not be seen in time." †

The climate of Calcutta, from October to March, is described as extremely pleasant,—"scarcely to be equalled by any which Europe can offer." "The mornings, from five to eight, are now," writes the Bishop in December, "equal to the pleasantest time of year in England; then follow about eight hours, during which a man does well to remain in the

* Fifteen Years, p. 134. See p. 94 of our first volume.
† Heber, vol. iii. pp. 227—9.

house, but which, under such circumstances, are not too hot either for comfort or any kind of mental exertion; and from four to dark, it is again about the temperature of our summer evening. This is, indeed, the best time of the year. Of the rains and the hot winds, every body speaks with very alarming eloquence; and I apprehend that, during their continuance, a bare existence is all that any man can hope for." *

By the middle of April, the weather becomes very hot. It is then often advisable, on the failure of the north-westers, to shut up all the windows about eight o'clock in the morning, merely agitating the air within by *punkahs*. By excluding all outward breezes, the temperature may be kept at from 80° to 85°, instead of 100°. Thus confined, it is, however, "close and grave-like;" but, if we *go* to an open window or door, "it is literally like approaching the mouth of one of the blast-furnaces in Colebrook Dale."

A frightful picture is given by Mr. Wallace of the state of the weather at this season. "Were a country gentleman, in the full enjoyment of all his bodily faculties in this happy climate, to be suddenly transported to St. John's church in Calcutta, during the performance of divine service in the month of June, he would fancy himself seated among ghosts. He would look upon their sallow countenances with fear, and see the big drops like tears, coursing each other on the anxious brow, notwithstanding the large fans suspended over head, and drawn briskly backwards and forwards, by means of ropes passed through the windows, by natives outside, to produce an artificial

* Heber, vol. iii. p. 250.

circulation of air. If he followed any gentleman to his home, he would see him there throw off his coat and put on a light white jacket, as a relief from his sufferings.* And on passing the burying-ground beyond Chowringhee, the stranger would there perceive, in the numberless tombs and monuments, ample evidence of the terrible mortality prevailing in the land of his sojourn."†

Calcutta was at one time deemed scarcely less unhealthy than Batavia; and the air of the town is said to be still affected by the vicinity of the Sunderbunds and the swampy rice-fields The acknowledged improvement of the climate of late years, is ascribed to the attention paid to a general system of drainage, and to the cutting of broad, straight roads through the contiguous woods in the direction of the prevailing winds. The rainy season begins about the 12th of June, and ends about the 14th of October. There have been various estimates of the population of Calcutta, but it does not appear that any very correct census has been taken. In 1752, the four districts into which the town was then divided, contained 9,541 houses, and within the Company's bounds, 5,2C7; making the whole

* "It was formerly the fashion," Hamilton says, "and is still adhered to up the country, for gentlemen to dress in white cotton jackets on all occasions; but being thought too much of an undress for public occasions, they are now laid aside for coats of English cloth."—Hamilton, vol. i. p. 58.

† Fifteen Years, p. 30. The mortality among the Europeans is not attributable, however, to the climate only. "Most young men live in India thoughtlessly and luxuriously, as long as they are able. Before they prepare for defence, they are taken by the enemy." *Ib.* 31. The greater number of those buried here, Mrs. Graham says, are under five and twenty years of age; cut off in the first two or three years of their residence. There are many acres covered so thick with columns, urns, and obelisks, that there seems scarcely room for another. Graham's Journal, p. 141.

amount to 14,718; but these houses were those of principal tenants or leaseholders, who had their lodgers or under-tenants within their respective limits; so that the total number of habitations in Calcutta at that time, is taken by Hamilton at 51,132; "which sum being multiplied by eight inhabitants for each house, (which Mr. Holwell calls a moderate number,) the result would give a total of 409,056 constant inhabitants, without reckoning the multitude that were daily coming and going." In 1802, the police magistrates reckoned the population at 600,000. About 1810, Sir Henry Russel, the chief judge, computed the population of the town and the environs at 1,000,000; and General Kyd, that of the city alone at between 4 and 500,000. It is now supposed to amount to 800,000, and if so, it is more populous than either Paris or Constantinople, and ranks next to Peking and London. In 1798, the number of houses, shops, &c. in the town of Calcutta, belonging to individuals, was as follows:*

British subjects - - -	4,300
Armenians - - -	640
Portuguese and other Christians	2,650
Hindoos - - -	56,460
Mohammedans - -	14,700
Chinese - - - -	10
	78,760

This statement does not include the new and old forts and many houses the property of the East India Company, and does not therefore materially assist in determining the aggregate number of the population, but will serve to shew the relative proportions of the different classes. "The Armenians are a respectable

* Hamilton, i. pp. 50, 55.

and probably the most numerous body of foreign merchants at the presidency. They carry on an extensive trade to China and the eastward, and to the west as far as the Arabian Gulf. Some of the superior class are usually invited to the public balls and entertainments. The number of Greek merchants in Calcutta is not considerable: they maintain one priest. The Portuguese houses of agency are, in point of number, next to those of the English. A very considerable number of the progeny of that nation reside in Calcutta and the environs, and have approximated very closely to the natives in appearance and manners."* In the above estimate, no mention is made of Jews; and this Writer even remarks, that Calcutta is probably the only very opulent town that is wholly free from them, adding: "Their practices are engrossed by the native *sirkars*, *banyans*, and writers, most of whom are quite a match for any Jew."† Not only are there Jews in Calcutta, however, but they have a synagogue, which was visited by the Author of the Sketches in India.

"I followed my conductor," says this pleasing Writer, "through a dark and dirty entrance, and up a stair-case, the lower half of worn brick, that above, of broken ladder-like wooden steps, with an ante-chamber filled with slippers; whence, after rapping at a half-closed door, we were admitted into a dismal-looking room, where such day-light as found its way, was broken and obscured by the dull and feeble light of several mean lamps of oil. Round this chamber sat about fifty venerable-looking figures, in large robes

* Hamilton, vol. i. p. 59.

† This seems a prevailing mistake, which is kept up by the favourite jest to which it has given rise. "There are no Jews in Calcutta," says Mr. Wallace, "because, as has often been jocosely said, a *shroff* or *sircar* would out-Isaac Isaac." There are about forty Jewish families at Calcutta.

of white, with turbans, out of the centre of whose muslin folds the short top of a crimson cap was just visible. One of them stood up at a raised reading-table near the entrance; and opposite to him was fixed against the wall, a sort of plain wooden press, looking like a half book-case. Of those seated round the room, some were aged with long silver beards, some middle-aged with beards black or red, and curling or bushy; their complexions differed from olive even to fresh, and they were, in general, very handsome. Although their dress and style of sitting, save that they used a broad raised bench, was Asiatic, still, they appeared totally unlike not only the Mohammedans of India, but also those from Asia Minor, who visit our Indian ports. At the sounding of a small bell, he at the table began reading to them from an ancient manuscript volume, and the eyes of every one were immediately riveted on small written or printed books, with which each, even a boy among them, was provided. Here, without temple and without altar, giving mournful evidence of the truth of those very prophecies, the Divine Interpreter of which their fathers rejected, and the past accomplishment of which they still deny,—here was a stray flock of the lost sheep of Israel.

"On the same day," continues this Writer, "on the morning of which I had been present in the Jewish synagogue, I visited the Caliaghaut pagoda, the Hindoo temple most resorted to in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. It is a poor trumpery building, as, on this side of India, they all are. I found it filled with worshippers, sitting down, with their offerings of plantains, rice, sugar, &c., in the neat brazen vessels used for that purpose. I went round to and ascended that higher part near the shrine of the idol,

and got up by the side of a large groupe of Brahmins. They bade me take off my shoes; but I refused, telling them, that uncovering the head meant with us, as they well knew, the corresponding compliment. I was quiet and grave; and they were satisfied and civil. They spoke English; chatted with me about the southern pagodas, of which they evidently knew little; and shewed a childish curiosity at my description of one. They made some poor worshippers stand out of the way, that I might look at the hideous black idol with its gilt ornaments and mother-of-pearl eyes, and at last asked me for money for their god. I replied, that he was not mine; and that it was useless to ask me to do what I should consider sinful: but, said I, a minute afterwards, as I saw them consecrating to and putting on their god a chaplet of sacred flowers, 'The scent of those flowers is agreeable to me; I will, if you please, give a rupee for those.' It was immediately stripped from the idol for me, and I bore it off to my palankeen. I saw, as I passed out of Caliaghaut, a shed with many hundred live kids, which are sold there for sacrifices; and in my way back, I was carried through a street of idol-makers, who make all those small ones which the Hindoos buy for the inside of their houses and for public festivals. They ran by my palankeen, offering them for sale with this strange recommendation: '*Baba ko waste, Sahib*'—for the children, master." *

* Sketches of India, pp. 118—123. "I may be told," adds the Author in a note, "that I am mistaken if I suppose that Brahmins themselves officiate at the sacrifice of animals. Certain I am that they enjoin them. It is true, that blood-offerings are not made in the body of any of the large pagodas, but in the small *swamey* houses near them." "It is an erroneous idea," remarks Mr. Tytler, "that the Hindoos are altogether interdicted from the use of animal food. Even the Brahmins are enjoined to taste it at some

The bulk of the native population of Calcutta bear by no means a good character for morality or probity. "Notwithstanding the severity of the police and of the English laws, it appears probable," says Mr. Hamilton, "that the morals of the native inhabitants are worse in Calcutta than in the provincial districts. This is not to be attributed solely to the size, population, and indiscriminate society of the capital, but, in part, to the Supreme Court, every native connected with which appears to have his morals contaminated by the intimacy. Within these few years, the natives have attained a sort of legal knowledge, as it is usually denominated. This consists of a skill in the arts of collusion, intrigue, subornation, and perjury, which enables them to perplex and baffle the magistrates with infinite facility." * "Without detracting from the respectability of many Hindoos," says Mr. Wallace, "it may be said with great truth, that the dregs of the people are in the most deplorable state of moral and civil degradation. Truth is not in them; and they are so addicted to gratuitous falsehood, that an inferior is generally cautioned (to speak the truth). A witness may swear with the *vedan* on his head and his right hand in the water of the Ganges; but no judge would believe him, who had witnessed the perjury common in every court of justice." †

of their sacrifices; and all the other castes eat it occasionally. It is, however, expected, that they perform some religious ceremony previously; and nothing is more common in the vicinity of Calcutta or other large towns, than to see the better order of Hindoos returning with their kids from the temple of Kali. Their respect for that goddess does, indeed, induce them to leave the most useless part with her, *viz.*, the head. But there is little doubt that the satisfaction attending the sacrifice, is enhanced by the good dinner afterwards."—Tytler, vol. i. p. 105.

* Hamilton, vol. i. p. 61. † Fifteen Years, p. 139.

Mr. Oakley, formerly a Hooghly magistrate, accounts for the greater prevalence of *suttees* in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, by their notorious pre-eminence in profligacy. "The idol of the drunkard and the thief," says this gentleman, "Kalee, is scarcely to be met with in the distant provinces; and none but the most abandoned will confess that he is a follower of Kalee. In Calcutta, we find few that are not. This worship must harden the hearts of her followers, and to these, scenes of blood and crime must become familiar. By such men, a *suttee* is not regarded as a religious act, but as a choice entertainment; and we may conclude, that the vicious propensities of the Hindoos in the vicinity of Calcutta, are a cause of the comparative prevalence of *suttees*.*

"The chief cause of depravity in the Bengalee character," says another unimpeachable witness, is to be found in the nature of their religion....In the *Tuntra* Shasters, (which, as inculcating a less rigid and austere doctrine, and pointing out an easier way to heaven, have of late come very much into fashion,) there are *munters (mantras*, prayers) for all professions, all situations, and all actions. Strange to relate, there are *munters* for thieves, burglars, and robbers, with forms of invocation to the deities for success in their schemes of plunder, as well as consecrations of their various weapons.†...The penance prescribed for telling a lie, is the repetition of the name of Vishnoo, once for each offence. Thus, we may often observe the religious Brahmin counting his beads and repeating the name of (his) god, while under examination in

* Parliamentary Papers, May 1827, vol. v. p. 5.

† See the details of the ceremony, and the invocation to the *Sindhukatee*, or house-breaking instrument, in Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. pp. 151—3.

our courts. Can we be surprised at the total disregard of truth which pervades all ranks among the followers of such doctrines? It forms one of the distinct features which mark the character of the Bengalee. There can be very little doubt, that to the Shasters is chiefly to be attributed this horrid vice. The influence of the various filthy stories which, in the Shasters, are related of the Hindoo deities, and the immoral tendency of the abominable songs so common among the natives, and which are sung at the worship of their gods, must be very great....Of late years, it has been taught by the *Tantrica* Brahmins, that the gods have now become fond of the bottle; and consequently spirits are offered up at their shrine. Where these offerings go, it is not very difficult to conceive; and I am told, that the fervour of the priests at the temple of Kalighaut is not a little owing to this stimulus.* Kali is the goddess of thieves; and spirits always form a part of the articles offered up to this goddess....Thieves and robbers are the only persons who live well. Among these, the use of flesh and all kinds of spirituous liquors is common. Theirs is a merry life; and we need not wonder that many poor wretches are induced to adopt it. Let the lower orders have equal comforts with the *dacoits* (bandits),†

* "I am very credibly informed," says Mr. Ward, "that very many Brahmins in Bengal eat cow's flesh, and, after they have been offered to an idol, drink spirits, though none of them will publicly acknowledge it."

† The mode of robbery called *dacoity*, is almost peculiar to Bengal, or at least prevails chiefly there. It is practised by large armed gangs by night, generally by torch-light. In the number of convicts under sentence of imprisonment, within the Calcutta circuit, in 1802, amounting to 4000, it was calculated that probably nine-tenths were for dacoity. Of twenty trials at the second quarterly sessions for the twenty-four *pergunnahs* in 1810, eight were for this crime. During the years 1808—10, *Dacoity* was at its height

and they will prefer a life of honesty. Among the very lowest castes, particularly among the *buddeas*, dawk-bearers, and *harecs*, the flesh of the wild hog is frequently eaten. They go out in parties at night, carrying torches, and attended by *pariar* dogs. The hogs approach the light, and are run down by the dogs: when at bay, the men come behind them and spear them. The flesh is by no means unpleasant. Parties of this kind and the *poojahs* (ceremonies of their gods) are frequently used as a cover for assembling a party of *dacoits*, armed and prepared to commit a robbery.

"The huts of the natives of Bengal are, in general, miserably poor. It is strange that they are more comfortable in the northern and western districts, where there is less trade and commerce, than towards the east and south; but the wealth of the last-mentioned quarter has at present no circulation among the lower orders, and cannot affect their condition. The huts of the Bengalees afford no security against the attacks of robbers. They are built with light bamboo frames, covered with a kind of reeds, bruised flat, and plaited into mats. Their floors are generally raised about a foot or two from the ground, by layers of clay beaten down. The thieves, who are denominated *Sindeals*, or hole-cutters,* easily undermine these

in the *zillahs* round Calcutta; owing, Mr. Tytler says, to the mismanagement and misconduct of the *zemindars* and the excessive misery and indigence of the peasantry. The ravages of the dacoits in Bengal are noticed, however, in the resolutions of a Committee of Circuit at Cossimbazar, as far back as 1772; at which time they appear, from the description, to have resembled more closely the Pindarries. See Tytler, vol. i. pp. 122—126. Mill, vol. v. pp 466—471.

* They are also called *nukubzuns*.

floors from without; or cut holes through the mats, sufficiently large to admit of their entering; and by these means, carry away property, generally to a very small amount. This is the crime which, in Bengal, has been dignified with the name of burglary. In the earthen floor, it is not at all uncommon for the Bengalee to bury, in a clay vessel, the little money or jewels he may possess; and sometimes the servants of the house give notice of this to the *dacoits*. There are many instances of the *dacoits* having tortured the poor natives, until they pointed out the place where their money was concealed.

"In one village, in particular, which I entered immediately after a *dacoity* had been committed, I recollect being shewn two stakes, with a shallow pit dug between them, over which they had suspended the master of the house, and had actually roasted him over a slow fire, until he pointed out the place where his little treasure was hid. He persisted so long in concealing it, that very little life remained. He was only released on shewing them a small hole in the wall, neatly plastered over with clay: from this, they took all that he possessed, and he died the next day. So frequent, in former times, were the visits of these miscreants, that very few of the lower classes thought it worth their while to amass a little money. And even at the present day, all their little gains are immediately spent in *poojahs* (the worship of their idols) and other ostentatious ceremonies. This disposition has grown upon them; and it will be long before a sufficient confidence in our protection, and an encouragement to industry, will induce them to become independent, or to live otherwise than from day to day. Their *Mahajuns* are their only support. For

this description of men, I do not know an English appellation that would be suitable.' They lend money to the peasants; also, grain for seed, and for the support of their families, receiving a very profitable return. Both parties are indeed accommodated by these means; but the poor peasant is always kept in balance. Were he suffered to gain, he would become independent of his *Mahajun*; he is therefore merely kept alive. This system suits his habits of indolence, and it is difficult to induce him to rise above it.

"Although the middling ranks will not steal and rob openly, or commit other bad actions which may lower them in the public eye; yet, when it can be concealed, they will receive bribes, will defraud their masters by false accounts, and, by making use of their power in office, will extort sums in the most paltry and mean way from all who have any transactions with them. They scruple not to make use of their master's name, in cases where greater sums may by these means be obtained. They never receive power but to abuse it; and no salary, however liberal, will put a stop to their corruption and venality. As they have no regard to justice, so they have no feelings of pity for even the most miserable of the poor, whose causes they have before them, and every assistance they give, must be paid for.

"In all countries, justice, although the natural right of the subject, is a very dear commodity; but in Bengal, its price exceeds, in most instances, its value. The poor Bengalee will rather give up his little paternal property, his bit of *lahraje* (rent-free) land, than prosecute his cause in the civil courts. He will rather suffer the injury, if his house be robbed, than undergo the delay and misery of a criminal prosecution. Half,

and more than half the injuries committed,' are thus concealed."*

This last statement, coming as it does from an individual who had sustained a judicial station in the country, is the more important, inasmuch as the comparative fewness of the convictions, as measured by the population, has been urged as a proof that the depravity of the Hindoos must be greatly exaggerated.† The fact is, that the criminal calendar of a country like India, forms no index to the crimes which abound in it, no criterion of the state of morals. Under an efficient system of judicature and police, in proportion as the amount of crime was diminished, the number of committals and convictions would probably be increased by the additional facilities of detection. "In India, the chances of escape without a trial, are," Mr. Tytler says, "perhaps double what they are in England; and this proceeds from the unbounded corruption of police officers, and the want of regard to truth in the witnesses. There is not in Bengal," he adds, "one man proof against a bribe. The *dacoits* and robbers, while they have booty, are sufficiently safe; and we have those only sent in, who have ceased to pay for their freedom." Altogether, "the probabilities that the

* Tytler's Considerations, vol. i. pp. 212, 223, 242, 244, 106—10, 264, 5. Mr. Tytler was assistant judge in the twenty-four *pergunnahs*.

† See an attack on Mr. Mill's India, by Major Vans Kennedy in Bombay Transactions, vol. iii. p. 132. In the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, the number of trials before the Four Courts of Circuit, comprehending Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in 1802, was 5667, and of convictions, 2820. This, on a population of thirty millions, gives a smaller proportion of crime than in England. From this, the Major wishes us to infer, that the Hindoos are a more moral people than the English!!

criminal shall never be brought to trial are, perhaps, ten to one."* The prodigious difference between the number of trials and that of convictions, is thus explained in a report from the circuit-judge of Patna. "Few of the murders and only one of the robberies charged, really occurred; the rest are merely fictitious crimes brought forward to harass an opposing litigant, or to revenge a quarrel. The criminal court is the weapon of revenge, to which the natives of this province resort on all occasions."† The same circumstance is mentioned by other judges. On the other hand, no sooner is a culprit brought up for trial, than the utmost cunning and address of the Hindoo character are put forth to defeat the purposes of justice. Especially in the case of *dacoits*, witnesses are intimidated by the threats of revenge. Add to which, the Mussulman law and the Mussulman mode of procedure in civil and criminal cases, which has been unhappily adopted in India by the Anglo-Indian authorities, is allowed by all competent judges to be "the most faulty perhaps on earth." ‡ Sir Henry Strachey, a judge of circuit in the Calcutta district in 1802, speaking of the increase of licentiousness, says: "Chicanery, subornation, fraud, and perjury are certainly more common. Drunkenness, prostitution, indecorum, profligacy of manners, must increase under a system which, although it professes to administer the Mohammedan law, does not punish those immoralities."§ The judge of circuit in the Bareilly divi-

* Tytler, ii. 93, 95.

† Fifth Report of the Commons Committee.

‡ See on this subject Tytler, i., 109, &c. Mill, v., 475. The mixture of the Mohamedan and English systems now established, is so contrived, according to the latter writer, as to combine the principal vices of both.

§ Fifth Report, p. 68.

sion, in 1805, warns the Government against supposing that the lists transmitted from the courts exhibit an accurate view of the state of delinquency; inasmuch as the cases are extremely numerous which are never brought before the magistrates, from the negligence or connivance of the police-officers and the aversion of the people to draw upon themselves the burthen of a prosecution. Hence it happens, that the less aggravated cases of robbery, with those of theft and fraud, "are frequently perpetrated, and no records of them remain." Hence, the cases of homicide, which least admit of concealment, occupy the largest space in the criminal calendar. "The number of persons," continues the judge, "convicted of wilful murder, is certainly great. The murder of children for the sake of their ornaments, is, I am sorry to say, common. For my own part, being convinced that, under the existing laws, we have no other means of putting an end to the frequent perpetration of this crime, I could wish to see the practice of adorning children with valuable trinkets altogether prohibited." "A want of tenderness and regard for life is, I think, very general throughout the country." *

As a proof "how little a female death is cared for," Bishop Heber mentions the following circumstance, which occurred a short time before, near Ghazeepoor. "In consequence of a dispute which had taken place between two small freeholders about some land, one of the contending parties, an old man of seventy and upwards, brought his wife (of the same age) to the field in question, forced her, with the assistance of their children and relations, into a little straw hut built for the purpose, and burned her and the hut

* Fifth Report, pp. 565, 6; 540. Mill, v. 471–3.

together; in order that her death might bring a curse on the soil, and her spirit haunt it after death, so that his successful antagonist might never derive any advantage from it. On some horror and surprise being expressed by the gentleman who told me this case, one of the officers of his court, the same indeed who had reported it to him, not as a horrible occurrence, but as a proof how spiteful the parties had been against each other, said very coolly: 'Why not?—she was a very old woman,—what use was she?' The old murderer was in prison; but my friend said, he had no doubt that his interference in such a case *between man and wife*, was regarded as singularly vexatious and oppressive; and he added: 'The truth is, so very little value do these people set on their own lives, that we cannot wonder at their caring little for the life of another. The cases of suicide which come before me, double those of suttees. Men, and still more, women, throw themselves down wells, or drink poison, for apparently the slightest reasons; generally out of some quarrel, and in order that their blood may lie at their enemy's door; and unless the criminal in question had had an old woman at hand and in his power, he was likely enough to have burned himself.' Human sacrifices, as of children, are never heard of *now* in these provinces; but it still sometimes happens, that a leper is burned or buried alive; and as these murders are somewhat blended also with religious feeling, a leper being supposed to be accursed of the gods, the *Sudder Dewannee*, acting on the same principle, discourages, as I am told, all interference with the practice."*

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 352—4. A striking resemblance would seem to exist, in this trait of character, between the natives of Bengal and the Chinese. "It is the detestable custom of Canton Province, on every slight occasion, for a slight resentment, to commit suicide.

Mr. Warner, the Dacca magistrate, told the Bishop, that the numbers of a *dacoit* party were generally exaggerated by the complainants. "Nevertheless, there was, he said, a great deal of gang-robbery, very nearly resembling the riband-men of Ireland, but unmixed with any political feeling, in all these provinces. It is but too frequent for from five to ten peasants to meet together as soon as it is dark, to attack some neighbour's house, and not only plunder, but torture him, his wife and children, with horrible cruelty, to make him discover his money. These robbers, in the day-time, follow peaceable professions; and some of them are thriving men; while the whole firm is often under the protection of a *zemindar*, who shares the booty, and does his best to bring off any of the gang who may fall into the hands of justice, by suborning witnesses to prove an *alibi*, bribing the inferior agents of the police, or intimidating the witnesses for the prosecution.* In this way, many persons are suspected of these practices, who yet go on many years in tolerably good esteem with their neighbours, and completely beyond the reach of a Govern-

And the relatives of the self-murderer view the dead body as a piece of goods of extraordinary value. They contrive to allege, that the deceased committed suicide, in consequence of ill usage from some rich neighbour, who, to avoid litigation, gives them a sum of money; or, if he refuse, they combine with the police, and commence a prosecution." Proclamation by the Viceroy of Canton. Trans. of R. Asiat. Society, vol. i. p. 47.

* "Two circumstances worth notice," remarks the Bishop, "are, the gangs in which most crimes are committed, and the nature of the defence usually set up, which, I observed, was, in nine cases out of ten, an *alibi*, being the easiest of all to obtain by the aid of false witnesses. Perjury is dreadfully common, and very little thought of." See also Sir Henry Strachey's testimony, in Mill, v. 492. "The progress of this system," says another magistrate, "is dreadful. The *decoits* become every thing, and the police and the criminal judicature, nothing."

ment which requires proof in order to punish. Mr. Warner thinks, the evil has increased since the number of spirit-shops has spread so rapidly. At present, these places bring in a very considerable revenue to Government, and are frequented by multitudes both of the Hindoo and Mussulman population. They are generally resorted to at night; and thus, the drunkenness, the fierce and hateful passions they engender, lead naturally to those results which night favour; at the same time that they furnish convenient places of meeting for all men who may be banded for an illicit purpose. I asked, what the Brahmins said to this: he answered, that the Brahmins themselves were many of them drunkards, and some of them *decoits*; and that he thought what influence they retained, was less for good or moral restraint, than for evil. Yet, he said, that they had a good deal of influence still, while this had been quite lost by the Mussulman imams and moullahs."*

It would be easy to multiply similar testimonies of the highest authority to the melancholy state of society existing more especially in Bengal. A distinction ought to be kept in view, however, between the moral condition of a depressed population, and what may fairly be regarded as the native character of the people. The active causes of demoralization assigned in explanation of the increase of crime, *viz.*, the spread of the *Tantra* doctrines and of the worship of Kali,† the increase of spirit-shops, the defective state

* Heber, i. 216, 17. Among the cases under investigation was that of a wealthy Brahmin, "accused of having procured his enemy to be seized and carried before the altar of Kali in his private house, and having there cut off his head, after the manner in which sheep and hogs are sacrificed to their deities."

† The daily offerings to Kalee are astonishingly numerous.

of the laws, the inefficiency and corruption of the native magistracy and police, the profligacy of the Brahmins, the tyranny of the new *zemindars*, and the oppression and misery suffered by the peasantry,—are amply sufficient to account for the hideous state of society, without driving us to the supposition, that the Bengalee is naturally and necessarily more vicious than the natives of other countries. The fact is admitted on all hands, that *dacoits* and other crimes have greatly increased under the British Government. This has been owing to the dissolution of the imperfect, yet, to a certain extent, effective bonds which held society together under the Mussulman rulers, and the substitution of an anomalous system of judicature, having no connexion with the religion of either the rulers or the governed, and destitute, therefore, of all those sanctions and associations which render laws venerable and binding. "The great men formerly," remarks Sir Henry Strachey, "were the Mussulman rulers, whose places we have taken, and the Hindoo *zemindars*: these two classes are now ruined and destroyed....The operation of our system has gradually loosened that intimate connexion between the *ryots* and the *zemindars*, which subsisted heretofore. The *ryots* were once the vassals of their *zemindar*. Their dependence on the *zemindar*, and their attachment to him, have ceased....The *zemindar*

Mr. Ward estimates the *monthly* sum expended on this idol, at 6000 rupees, amounting to about 9000*l*. sterling *per annum*. "The village of Kalee-ghatu owes the greater part of its population to this temple, from which nearly two hundred persons derive their subsistence, exclusive of the proprietors, who amount to about thirty families. Some proprietors have a day in turn; others, half a day; and others, two or three hours; to whom all the offerings presented in the portion of time thus apportioned belong. All these families have become rich."—Ward, vol. i. p. 164.

formerly, like his ancestors, resided on his estate. He was regarded as the chief and the father of his tenants, from whom all expected protection, but against whose oppressions there was no redress. At present, the estates are often possessed by Calcutta purchasers, who never see them, and whose agents have little intercourse with the tenants, except to collect the rents." * Thus, in Bengal, as in Ireland, an absentee system contributes to aggravate the sufferings of the peasantry.

"Calcutta," remarks a writer in the 'Friend of India,' "is, in every point of view, a new city; almost as much so with regard to its native gentry, as to its European population. The great native families who contribute to its splendour, are of very recent origin. We scarcely think ten families could be named in Calcutta, who possessed wealth before the rise of the English power. Its vast opulence is the growth of a little more than half a century. It has been accumulated under our sovereignty, chiefly in our service, entirely through our protection. The wealth possessed by the natives in Calcutta is immense. The Rothschilds and the Barings of India, are not to be found in the circle of European banking-houses, but among the natives. So withering has been the effect

* Mill, vol. v. pp. 442, 446. A state of society in many respects strikingly similar, appears to exist in China, the natives of which closely resemble in character the Bengalees. Gang-robbery prevails there to a great extent. "Avaricious and cruel magistrates, fraudulent police extortioners, vagabond attornies," and false witnesses, are there equally complained of as ruining the country. The same spirit of litigation prevails; the same proneness to suicide; the same falsehood and perjury; the same cold-blooded inhumanity; the same depression of the lower orders under their imperious foreign masters.—See Modern Traveller, China, pp. 293, 339; and Report of the Canton Viceroy, before cited.

of our sway in India,—so grinding our oppression, that, while the fortunes acquired by the natives outnumber those gained by Europeans, as five to one, the balance of wealth remains with the conquered, not with the conquerors. But the great natives of Calcutta not only regulate the money-market; they possess immense estates in the country. During the progress of our government, the lands, more particularly in Bengal, have changed hands, almost as extensively as they did after the Norman conquest in England. But this change has been produced without any degree of political forfeiture, simply by the introduction of system and regularity in the collection of the revenue, and the exclusion, as far as practicable, of bribery and corruption. The more ancient families, unwilling to reduce their expenditure within their income, and obliged to pay their rents periodically, have gradually fallen to decay. Whether the sale of land for the recovery of arrears of revenue be popular or not, or how far a greater degree of lenity would have been compatible with the collection of the revenues, it is not our business here to inquire. It is sufficient for our purpose to notice, that these estates have passed from the possession of one *native* to that of another, not from the Saxon to the Norman. They have been purchased chiefly by the new men who have recently risen to opulence, either through trade or in the service of Government, a very great proportion of whom reside in Calcutta. This transfer of property from the old to the new aristocracy, however individually distressing, may, probably, prove in the end, a national benefit. The new gentry, by residing in Calcutta, are acquiring more civilized habits. Their houses are better built and more commodiously furnished; the loop-holes have been exchanged for

spacious windows; the narrow, low, dreary chambers have been supplanted by ample rooms; comforts have been multiplied; a taste for articles of foreign growth has been introduced, which assists commerce, as much as it improves the condition of society. The old aristocracy, residing in the country, apart from the influence of European society, would have been less susceptible of improvement, more averse to innovation, and they might have remained for a much longer period buried in antiquated habits. From Calcutta, which, through the great assemblage of wealthy families, is become the theatre of display, the habits and comforts acquired from the influence of European example, are gradually diffused over the country; for the natives in Bengal entertain the same partiality for their splendid metropolis, as the Neapolitans for theirs—*Vederè Napoli e poi morire.*" *

Whatever may be the eventual national benefit, it would seem, that the actual operation of the system has been, to transfer the property of the country into new hands, to annihilate the old *zemindars*,† to produce, to an immense extent, individual distress, and to create a bloated wealth at the expense of an impoverished country. How far the modern *baboo* is an improvement upon the ancient *zemindar*, may be judged of from the remarks which follow.

"But the education of young men of fortune, even in Calcutta, is deficient in every thing which tends to form a good and great character. Nothing, indeed, can be more wretched. The education of the English gentry in the days of our feudal barbarism, when

* Friend of India, No. xiii. pp. 303—305.

† See, on this subject, Mill, vol. v. p. 438. The plan of establishing a landed aristocracy in the persons of the *zemindars*, has thus totally failed.

learning was confined to monasteries and the priesthood, was not more lamentable, than that which is bestowed in this country on the heirs to great estates. They have no suitable instructors. Of priests, there is no lack in the family; but, so far from fulfilling those important duties which devolve on a domestic chaplain and tutor in great English families, of this employment of their time they never dream. In the line of spiritual functions, indeed, their aid is ever ready; they clothe, feed, and worship the family images, cast nativities, and calculate auspicious days; but the more important duty of instructing and forming the youthful mind to the best of their abilities, would be esteemed a degradation. That weighty office is abandoned to some needy hireling, who, without any kind of qualification, undertakes the employ because he is fit for no other....This vicious education, or, rather, this absence of all education, produces the result which might have been expected. The number of those born to property who turn out indolent drones, exceeds that in almost every other country.*

"To this general description, however," it is added, "there are some noble exceptions. There are instances of application on the part of sons whom their fathers' wealth has enriched. There are also instances of parents anxious to leave their sons as rich in knowledge as in worldly possessions. The number of these latter is greatly on the increase, and is much encouraged by the intercourse of intelligent Europeans with wealthy natives. The insti-

* A satirical view of the education and habits of the *rich*, more especially of the new families, written by a native in Bengalee, appeared at Calcutta in 1825, under the title of "The Amusements of the Modern Baboo." It is a severe, but, we are assured, a faithful picture of the state of manners; and its value as a document is greatly increased by its proceeding from a native pen.

tutions which have been recently formed in Calcutta for educating the sons of 'the rich, if properly conducted, may prove not only an individual, but a national blessing. The Hindoo College, under able superintendence, may produce a rich harvest. The magnificent college (Bishop's College) erected in one of the new squares of Calcutta at the expense of Government, while it affords a fresh proof of British solicitude for the welfare of India, does the highest credit to its projectors. It was a noble idea, to associate with the improvement of the capital of British India, an institution which, if duly expanded by the admission of European science, is likely to prove a permanent blessing to the metropolis of the country."*

Of the changes which are taking place in the state of Indian society, at least in the capital, Bishop Heber's Letters furnish decisive evidence. "We have all heard," says the Bishop, "of the humanity of the Hindoos towards brute creatures, their horror of animal food, &c.; and you may be, perhaps, as much surprised as I was, to find, that those who can afford it, are hardly less carnivorous than ourselves; that even the purest Brahmins are allowed to eat mutton and venison, that fish is permitted to many castes, and pork to many others, and that, though they consider it as a grievous crime to kill a cow or a bullock for the purpose of eating, yet they treat their draft-oxen, not less than their horses, with a degree of barbarous severity which would turn an English hackney-coachman sick. Nor have their religious prejudices and the unchangeableness of their habits, been less exaggerated. Some of the best-informed of their nation with whom I have conversed, assure me,

* Friend of India, No. xlii. pp. 305—308

that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life, are borrowed from their Mohammedan conquerors; and at present, there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing; which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature; and the children of one of our friends, I saw, one day, dressed in jackets and trowsers, with round hats, shoes, and stockings. In the Bengalee newspapers, of which there are two or three,* politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to whiggism; and one of their leading men gave a dinner not long since, in honour of the Spanish revolution. Among the lower orders, the same feeling shews itself more beneficially, in a growing neglect of caste,—in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety to send their children to our schools, and a

* The first Bengalee newspaper was published on the 23rd of May, 1818, at the Scrampore press, entitled the *Sumachar Durpun*. It was immediately honoured with the notice and approbation of the Marquis of Hastings. The next two papers that appeared, were, the *Sumbad Kaumoodi* and the *Sumbad Chundrika*; the one advocating Hindooism, the other maintaining more liberal sentiments: these two native papers are frequently engaged in virulent controversy. A fourth paper has assumed the title of the *Teemeer Nausuk*, the destroyer of darkness; but its character ill corresponds to its pretensions: it is devoted to Hindooism. Besides these, there are two papers in the Persian language, which are occupied chiefly with uninteresting details relating to the transactions of the native courts. The number of subscribers to the six native papers is estimated at from 800 to 1000, and it is supposed that there may be five readers to a paper.—Friend of India, No. xii. p. 143.

desire to learn and speak English; which, if properly encouraged, might, I verily believe, in fifty years' time, make our language what the *Oordoo*, or court and camp language of the country (the Hindoostanee), is at present. And, though instances of actual conversion to Christianity are, as yet, very uncommon, yet, the number of children, both male and female, who are now receiving a sort of Christian education, reading the New Testament, repeating the Lord's Prayer and Commandments, and all with the consent, or, at least, without the censure, of their parents or spiritual guides, have increased during the last two years, to an amount which astonishes the old European residents, who were used to tremble at the name of a missionary, and shrink from the common duties of Christianity, lest they should give offence to their heathen neighbours. So far from that being a consequence of the zeal which has been lately shewn, many of the Brahmins themselves express admiration of the morality of the Gospel, and profess to entertain a better opinion of the English since they have found that they too have a religion and a Shaster."*

Among other striking symptoms of improvement in the state of the Hindoo community, may be mentioned, the decay of prejudice on the part of the *literati* against the vernacular tongue. "The Bengalee language, the only medium of communication to eighteen or twenty millions of people, had lain for ages in a state of total neglect, through the effects of sacerdotal pride. As the priesthood derived all their importance from the general ignorance of the people, it became their interest to neglect their language. So far, indeed, did they carry their contempt for their own

* Heber, vol. iii. p. 251—3.

mother tongue, that, while they cultivated the learned language with the greatest assiduity, they, in many instances, prided themselves on writing the language of the people with inaccuracy.* As the Bengalee language is totally dependent upon its parent for philological strength and beauty, and even for the principles of orthography, this system was fatal to every prospect of its improvement. At the close of two thousand years, during which period its favoured parent has been acquiring fresh beauty and vigour, the vernacular tongue continued in a state of infancy, without a grammar or a dictionary, or a single work in prose, and in possession only of a few idle legends, of which the matter is as contemptible as the style is wretched."† The force of this baleful prejudice may now be considered as destroyed. The Bengalee language is gradually advancing at once in importance and cultivation, and bids fair to become an effective medium of conveying to the natives of Bengal the treasures of European knowledge. Although the greater part of the works which have hitherto issued from the native press, (with the exception of the publications of the learned Rammohun Roy,) have not been of a very improving description, the native mind has been roused from the lethargy of ages; and from

* "When Keertibas, about sixty years ago, translated the Ramayuna into Bengalee, the literary conclave at the court of Raja Krishna Chundra Raya is said to have denounced it in the following rescript copied from the Sungskrita: 'As it is not the work of a Pundit, let it not be read.' Bidyunath, who translated a treatise on uncleanness into the popular dialect, apologizes, in the preface, for the use of it.... He compares the Bengalee language to the hideous notes of a crow sounding amidst the melody of the *kookila*."

† Friend of India, No. xii. pp. 152—4. See also, respecting some Bengalee translations, *Ib.* No. viii. p. 566.

the continued operations of the press, the happiest results may be anticipated.*

The rapid increase of religious and benevolent institutions in Calcutta, within the past few years, is another circumstance which demands to be adverted to. The first institution of this description founded by the British in Bengal, was a general hospital for Europeans, the foundation of which was laid in 1768. Lord Clive's fund for the relief of aged and infirm European officers and soldiers and their widows, (the establishment of which does honour to his memory,) is the next in order of date. Ten years after this, Mr. Hastings provided a building, at his own expense, for a Mohammedan college, which the Company afterwards endowed. Although this institution has hitherto failed to answer any very beneficial purpose, it deserves approbation as the first instance of a liberal attention to the wants and interests of the native population. In 1782, the first steps were taken by General Kirkpatrick towards the formation of the Military Orphan Asylum, supported in part by Government, and in part by subscriptions. "By this excellent institution, nearly a thousand orphans and

* In the article already cited on the state of the native press in 1825, (Friend of India, No. xii.) a list is given of thirty-one native works issued within the four years preceding. Among these are, "a work intended to facilitate the acquisition of English;" an almanack; a work on Bengal music; another on law; and a translation of the Sanscrit dictionary. The remainder are, for the most part, absurd legendary tales, *e.g.*, The Thousand Names of Vishnoo; on the Impression of Krishna's Feet; a section of the *Shree Bhagavata*, &c. The average number of each being taken at 1000, it is estimated, that nearly 30,000 volumes had been sent into circulation within the preceding four years. This is exclusive of Rammohun Roy's works, and of the still more important addition of 8500 Bengalee Gospels and New Testaments, and 5000 Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John in English and Bengalee, circulated in the years 1811—1827.

children of both sexes are supported and educated, who would otherwise find themselves cast on the wide world almost without a friend." In 1792, Dr. Robert Wilson proposed the establishment of a native hospital; the necessity for which may be estimated from the fact, that, in the year ending with December 1823, the cases received and relieved by this institution, exceeded 40,000.* In 1800, through the humane and persevering efforts of the Rev. David Brown, chaplain of the Presidency, the Free School Society was united with the Old Charity School, which, in some form or other, had existed for more than fifty years; by which means an institution was established for the support and education of indigent European youth in general. In the same year, a Poor's Fund for the relief of distressed Europeans and others, was permanently established, chiefly owing to the exertions of the same inestimable clergyman. With the exception of a Vaccine Establishment in 1802,† nothing further appears to have been attempted during the next ten years. In the year 1810, the first attempt was made by the Serampore Missionaries, to extend the benefits of instruction to "the indigent Christian population of Calcutta, descended from various nations, acquainted with no language but Bengalee, and in that unable to read a single line." The first idea of this benevolent institution was suggested by the accomplished Dr. Leyden; and the plan was much indebted, in its infancy, to the fostering patronage of Mr. Colebrooke (then a member of council), as well as to the

* Under the native sovereigns, Tennant says, "there were hospitals for dogs, cats, lions, and several other animals, but none for men."—Ind. Rec. vol. i. p. 74.

† This institution encountered serious obstacles at its outset, from the hostility of the Brahmins, who had hitherto practised as inoculators for small-pox.

support it received from Mr. Udny and Mr. Harington. Within the walls of this institution may be seen, European children, native Portuguese, Armenians, Mugs, Chinese, Hindoos, Mussulmans, together with natives of Sumatra, Mozambique, and Amboyna. It has now extended its operations to Serampore, Dacca, and Chittagong; and more than a thousand youths thus rescued from vice and ignorance, are now "making their way in life, and gradually, though slowly, rising to a certain degree of respectability."

Up to this period, no public effort had been made to give the Sacred Scriptures to our Indian fellow-subjects in their own languages.* But the extensive support given to the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society, on its formation in 1811, marked, in the strongest manner, the change which had been silently taking place in the public mind: nearly 45,000 rupees were subscribed to it within the first year. This Society has published the New Testament in the Tamul, the Bengalee, the Hindoostanee, the Teloogoo, the Cingalese, and the Hinduwee, as well as in the Armenian, the Persian, the Arabic, and the Malay languages; and it has been followed by similar societies in Madras, Bombay, Colombo, Penang, and New South Wales.

The establishment of the Bengalese Schools at Chinsurah, by the late Mr. Robert May, in July 1814, to which the Government gave its effective sanction by

* A Corresponding Committee, consisting of Mr. Udny, the Rev. David Brown, the Rev. Dr. Buchanan, and the Serampore Missionaries, had been formed as early as 1807, with a view to the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of India. Among several efforts of this nature, were the translation of the New Testament into Hindoostanee by the Rev. H. Martyn, Sabat's Persian Version, and Dr. Leyden's translation of the Gospels into five or six of the languages of Eastern Asia.

the grant of a monthly sum of 800 rupees, "is the first instance on record, in which the instruction of the common people had been made the open and avowed object, either by our own, or by any Government that had existed in India from the earliest ages.* This grant was made by Lord Hastings as an experiment, and its complete success amply justified the enlightened policy which dictated it. In 1815, was founded the Hindoo College or *Vidyalaya*, the object of which was, the instruction of respectable Hindoos in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia. Many of the wealthy natives, stimulated by the countenance, and attracted by the example of his Lordship, came forward as the supporters of this important institution, the direction of which is principally confided to the natives. In 1816, the Serampore Institution for Native Schools was formed; and the "Hints" were published, which led to the general patronage of native schools throughout the Presidency.† The School Book Society, established in the following year, owed its origin to the illustrious consort of the Governor-General.‡ In this Society, formed for the purpose of providing the means of elementary instruction for the common people, was beheld, almost for the first time in India, the

* Of these schools, Sir John Malcolm speaks with warm approbation, Pol. Hist. ii. 280.

† "In 1818, the schools in Rajpootana, superintended by the third son of Dr. Carey, were established at the express request of his Lordship." Friend of India, vol. ii. p. 426.

‡ "The country itself could not supply *a single native child's book*, although schools in almost every considerable village had existed for ages. Strange as it may seem, reading made scarcely any part of the exercises of these schools. At an early period also, the Marchioness established a school on the borders of the park at Barrackpore, for the use of which she herself prepared and sent to press several elementary works."—*Ib.* p. 427.

union of learned and opulent natives with Europeans, in the great work of diffusing knowledge among the lowest ranks of their countrymen.* Within a twelvemonth, the noble spirit of benevolent emulation which was now awakened, led to the formation of the Calcutta School Society. To both these associations, the Government liberally assigns a monthly contribution of 500 rupees.

In all these attempts to promote general education, no intention of communicating to the natives the knowledge of Christianity was openly avowed. On the contrary, the School Book Society had distinctly adopted the resolution to exclude from their library, all books of a religious nature. But the Calcutta Diocesan Committee, formed in 1818 by Bishop Middleton,† fearlessly avowed its object to be, "the gradual conversion of the myriads under the British rule to whom the Gospel is unknown, by the process of Christian education." To that prelate is certainly due the merit of the open and authoritative avowal, that there is not the most remote danger connected with the conversion of the natives to Christianity by persuasive methods:

* The business of this Society is conducted by a President, four Vice-Presidents, and a Committee of twenty members, of whom ten must be natives. There is also a European and a native recording secretary, and a European and a native corresponding secretary. Hindoos, Mussulmen, and Europeans are thus associated both as subscribers and managers. At the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, held March 1 1828, a letter was read from Baboo Radhacant Deb, a member of the School-book Committee, and Vice-President of the Calcutta Agricultural Society; accompanied with the present of a copy of the first part of his work entitled, *Sabda Calpa Druma* (a Sanscrit lexicon), and a Bengalee spelling book, on the plan of Lindley Murray's English Spelling Book.

† Bishop Middleton, the first bishop of Calcutta, was appointed in March 1814, and arrived in India in Nov. of the same year.

an opinion which, if avowed long ago by others, when thus decidedly maintained by a clergyman of his rank and known moderation, obtained a degree of credit never given to it before. In the preceding year, there had already been formed the Auxiliary Church Missionary Society, and the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society; and in April 1818, a third society of this nature was established under the name of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society. In 1820, the foundation stone was laid of Bishop's College, the design of which was to provide a body of clergy trained up in sacred knowledge, sound learning and the principal languages of India, that they might be qualified to preach among the heathen. In July 1823, it was determined by the Governor in Council, to constitute a General Committee of Public Instruction, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education in Bengal, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion. The Governor also announced his resolution to appropriate to the object of public education, the sum of one lac of rupees per annum.* These spirited and beneficent measures have been followed up by the formation of a Christian School Society, a Female Orphan Asylum, the Parental Academic Institution, an Episcopal Grammar School, the Ladies' Native Female Education Society†, the Apprenticing Society, a Religious

* A liberal native gentleman, Baboo Kasicant Ghosaul, placed 20,000 rupees at the disposal of this Committee; his example was followed by a second, who presented 22,000 rupees; and a third, Budinath Roy, gave 50,000. These sums were vested in public securities, and the interest is to be appropriated in endowing scholarships in the Anglo-Indian College.

† To this interesting institution, Budinath Roy, the individual mentioned in the preceding note, presented 20,000 rupees; a benefaction which was the more valuable as sanctioning the extension of education to female Hindoos. In 1827, the number of female native schools in Bengal amounted to 114; the scholars to 2216. Previously to the institution of these schools, there was no

Tract Society, and a Prayer-book and Homily Society. The reproach of degenerate supineness and selfish apathy, so long attaching to the British in India, has thus been completely wiped away; and should the continued subjection of the country prove to be, according to the sinister predictions of some politicians, incompatible with its civilization, "when our power is gone, our name will be revered'; for we shall leave," to use the words of Sir John Malcolm, "a moral monument more noble and imperishable than the hand of man ever constructed."*

It is in Calcutta chiefly, that the effect of the intercourse between Europeans and natives is distinctly visible in a separate class, forming "an indistinct link between the rulers and the people." "The lowest and the poorest Europeans and the native-born Christians and Portuguese," Hamilton says, "do in some degree mix with the natives in their ordinary concerns and amusements, just sufficient to produce a very inconsiderable change in their manners and character." Of this increasingly numerous and important class of the community, no correct *census* appears ever to have been taken. Their numbers at present, Sir John Malcolm says, are not considerable, (that is, in reference

known instance of an Indian female having been instructed in reading, writing, or sewing; and those who knew most of the country, regarded the attempt as visionary. At the commencement of the experiment, Mrs. Wilson, the estimable foundress of these schools, thought herself fortunate in obtaining the attendance of six or seven children. Many of the Brahmins now appear to approve of the plan, and attend the examination of the scholars. "There is not," says Bishop Heber, "even a semblance of opposition to the efforts which we are now making to enlighten the Hindoos." Heber, vol. i. pp. 55, 6.

* Malcolm, C. I., vol. ii. p. 304. See, for a full account of the Educational Institutions in Bengal, Lushington's History of Religious Institutions, &c., Calcutta, 1825. Friend of India, Nos. vii. and xii. Miss. Register, Feb. 1828.

to the country at large,) and many causes combine to prevent their rapid increase. "A great proportion being illegitimate, they seldom possess much property; and this circumstance, with the difficulty they have in providing for their children, prevents their early marriages.* The male part rarely marry with European women; and their connexions with their own class, or with the native females of India, produce a race still darker than themselves. Many of these, when the parents are poor, mix with the lower orders of the native Christian population (descendants of the Portuguese and native converts), and lose in the next generation all trace of the distinctive body from which they sprang; while, on the other hand, the children of females of this class who have intermarried with Europeans, from being fairer, and belonging to another society, become, in one or two generations, altogether separated from that race of natives from whom they are maternally descended. With the exception of a few, who have acquired fame and fortune as military adventurers, the superior as well as the most industrious branches of this community are found at the capitals of the three Presidencies, and at the principal civil and military stations; and they may be said almost to monopolize the situations of clerks and accountants in the offices of Government, as well as in those of public servants and private European merchants. The whole of this class speak English, as well as the provincial dialect of the country in which they were born. With a few distinguished exceptions, however, they have no political influence with the natives. It has not hitherto been their interest to

* This moral check can, it is obvious, operate only upon those who occupy, or are ambitious of occupying, a respectable rank in society: it cannot apply to the poorer class.

attain such influence, and many obstacles would oppose their success, if they made it their object. The date at which this part of our Indian population can arrive at any numerical strength as a separate body, is very remote; but they are almost all well educated,* and have from this, a consequence beyond what they derive from their numbers....Though placed under circumstances of depression and discouragement, this body of men have lost few opportunities of becoming useful and respected in the different walks of life to which their pursuits have been directed...The real consequence of the Anglo-Indians, in the eyes of the natives and their own, arises chiefly from their connexion with Europeans. They cling to an origin which seems to exalt them, and are driven only by the rebuffs of slight or contempt, to take measures by themselves as a detached body with separate and opposite interests. The very pride they have in placing themselves in the rank of Europeans, while it makes them feel with peculiar sensibility every instance of scornful repulse, which, from their anomalous situation, they must often be doomed to experience, affords the means of making

* If this be correct, it can only be of late years. Bishop Heber says: "A very numerous population of nominal Christians is rising round us, the children of European fathers and native women, who have been, till lately, shamefully neglected, but who shew a readiness to receive instruction, and a zeal, generally speaking, for the faith of the Church establishment of the parent country, which should make that country blush for the scanty aids which she has hitherto afforded them. From these, a considerable proportion of my congregations are made up." Heber, vol. iii. pp. 284, 5. Yet, elsewhere, the Bishop remarks, that he "never met with any public man connected with India, who did not lament the increase of the half-caste population, as a great source of present mischief and future danger to the tranquillity of the colony;" and he asks, "Why forbid the introduction of a class of women," (referring to English female servants,) "who would furnish white wives to the white Colonists?" *Ib.* vol. i. p. 42.

them useful allies. The policy of extending every consideration we can to this class, is greatly increased by their recognised rights of holding lands and of sitting upon juries; which latter has been given them recently. These privileges must gradually augment the influence of this class, and, by giving them importance with the English community and themselves, will tend to improve their condition, and confirm their attachment to the state to which they owe allegiance."*

The half-caste ladies in Bengal are called *cheerhees*, from a Hindostanee word much used by them in Calcutta, equivalent to fie! fie! Many of them, Mr. Wallace says, "are most amiable companions, possess an affectionate heart, and perform all the duties of good wives with tenderness and alacrity; but very few of them can enjoy European society; for a consciousness of being so different in appearance impresses them with a feeling of inferiority, under which they are ill at ease with our fair countrywomen: hence they shun their acquaintance, and, it is said, envy them. Their real happiness would consist in being connected by marriage with persons of the same caste; but it is a strange truth, that these girls look upon the young men of their own colour as beneath them; and at all the schools in Calcutta where these charming nymphs are exhibited, their admirers are generally youthful

* Malcolm, P. H., vol. ii. pp. 260—265. The Author of "Fifteen Years of India" thus speaks of the half-castes. "Many of them are of dark complexions, but of most excellent capacity, with very generous dispositions and affectionate hearts. It is to be regretted, that some plan has not been devised to employ them for the advantage of the country, as they labour at present under illiberal exclusion from the army, the navy, and the civil service, which makes them discontented subjects. There are many very worthy men in that large body of subjects that now come under the name of half-castes; and the number and respectability of the whole entitle them to very great consideration."—p. 253.

Europeans.* Some idea of their number may be formed from the seminaries and asylums in Calcutta, where upwards of 500 half-caste girls, illegitimate daughters by native mothers of the higher ranks, are genteelly educated." †

With regard to the prevailing prejudice in favour of a European complexion, Bishop Heber cites a curious illustration of the native feeling. At certain times of the year, great numbers of the Hindoo idols are hawked about the streets at Calcutta. They are of clay, closely resembling in composition, colouring, and execution, (though of course not in form,) the more paltry images which are carried about in this country for sale by the *Lago di Como* people. It is not till they have been solemnly washed in the Ganges by a Brahmin pundit, that they are considered as possessing a sacred character. Before they are thus consecrated, they are frequently given as toys to children, and used as ornaments to rooms. "I thought it remarkable," says the Bishop, "that, though most of the male deities are represented of a deep brown colour, like the natives of the country, the females are usually not less red and white than our porcelain beauties as exhibited in England. But it is evident, from the expressions of most of the Indians themselves, from the style of their amatory poetry, and other circumstances, that they consider fairness as a part of beauty and a proof of noble blood. They do not like to be called black; and though the Abyssinians, who are sometimes met with in the country,

* "Some of these captivating fair ones are so irresistible, that many a young man sacrifices his future prospects at the altar of Hymen; for there is hardly an instance of one of these matches turning out well, the children being of a different tint of complexion from that of the father."

† Fifteen Years, pp. 338, 9.

are very little darker than they themselves are, their jest-books are full of taunts on the charcoal complexion of the *Hubshee*. Much of this has, probably, arisen from their having been so long subjected to the Moguls and other conquerors, originally from more northern climates, and who continued to keep up the comparative fairness of their stock by frequent importation of northern beauties. It is remarkable, however, to observe, how surely all these races, in a few generations, even without any intermarriage with the Hindoos, assume the deep olive tint, little less dark than a negro, which seems natural to the climate. The Portuguese natives form unions among themselves alone, or, if they can, with Europeans. Yet, the Portuguese have, during a three hundred years residence in India, become as black as Caffres." *

One of the principal Hindoo festivals observed at Calcutta, is the Churruk *poojah*, in honour of the goddess Kali, of which we have the following description in Bishop Heber's Journal :—

" On the 10th (of April), we were awakened before day-break, by the discordant sounds of native musical instruments; we immediately mounted our horses, and rode to the Meidan. The crowd was great and very picturesque. The music consisted chiefly of large double-drums, ornamented with plumes of black feathers, like those of a hearse, which rose considerably higher than the heads of the persons who played on them; large crooked trumpets, like the *litui* of the ancients; and small gongs suspended from a bamboo, which rested on the shoulders of two men, the last of whom played on it with a large, thick, and heavy drum-stick, or cudgel. All the

* Heber, vol. I. pp. 67, 8

persons who walked in the procession, and a large majority of the spectators, had their faces, bodies, and white cotton clothes daubed all over with vermilion; the latter to a degree which gave them the appearance of being actually dyed rose-colour. They were also crowned with splendid garlands of flowers, with girdles and baldrics of the same. Many trophies and pageants of different kinds were paraded up and down, by stages drawn by horses or bullocks. Some were mythological, others were imitations of different European figures, soldiers, ships, &c.; and, in particular, there was one very large model of a steam-boat. The devotees went about with small spears through their tongues and arms, and still more with hot irons pressed against their sides. All were naked to the waist, covered with flowers, and plentifully raddled with vermilion, while their long, black, wet hair hung down their backs, almost to their loins. From time to time, as they passed us, they laboured to seem to dance; but, in general, their step was slow, their countenances expressive of resigned and patient suffering, and there was no appearance, that I saw, of any thing like frenzy or intoxication. The peaceableness of the multitude was also as remarkable as its number. No troops were visible, except the two sentries who at all times keep guard on two large tanks in the Meidân; no police, except the usual *chokeydar*, or watchman,* at his post near Allypoor Bridge; yet, nothing like quarrelling or rioting occurred, and very little scolding. A similar crowd in England would have

* These watchmen are less numerous and not more efficient than their brethren in the streets of London. They do not cry the hour, but proclaim their wakefulness by uttering loud howls from time to time. They are armed with pistol, sword, and shield.

shewn three boxing-matches in half an hour; and in Italy, there would have been half a dozen assassinations before night.......This is one of their most famous festivals, and the people had assembled from all the neighbouring villages. The noise of the music continued till about noon, when the devotees retired to heal their wounds. These are said to be dangerous, and occasionally to prove fatal. One of our servants, a *musalchee*, or torch-bearer, of the lowest caste, (for it seems that none of a higher sort practise these cruelties,) ran about the house with a small spear through his tongue, begging money from his fellow-servants. This man appeared stupified with opium, which, I am told, is generally taken by these poor wretches, to deaden their feelings; and the parts through which the spears are thrust, are said to be previously rubbed for a considerable time, till numbness ensues.

"In the evening, the Bishop walked to the Boitaconnah, the part of the city where the trees for swinging are erected: they are not suffered to be placed near the European residences. He arrived in time to be a spectator of the whole ceremony. The victim was led, covered with flowers, and without any apparent reluctance, to the foot of the tree: hooks were then thrust through the muscles of his sides, which he endured without shrinking, and a broad bandage was fastened round his waist, to prevent the hooks from being torn through by the weight of his body. He was then raised up, and whirled round; at first, the motion was slow, but, by degrees, was increased to considerable rapidity. In a few minutes it ceased; and the by-standers were going to let him down, when he made signs that they should proceed: this resolution was received with great applause by the

crowd, and, after drinking some water, he was again spun round." *

The most popular, however, of all the Hindoo *poojahs* held in Bengal, is the *Sharudeeya* or autumnal festival, held in honour of the goddess Doorga. Immense sums are expended upon it; † all business throughout the country is laid aside for several days, and universal festivity and licentiousness prevail. A short time before the festival, the sirkars and pundits employed in Calcutta usually return home, and keep a holiday of several weeks. "During the celebration of the Doorga *poojah*," says Mr. Wallace, "which occupies several days, the rich natives of Calcutta vie with each other in giving splendid nautches for three nights, to which Europeans are invited by printed cards, couched in the most polite terms. Temporary buildings are erected for this display of eastern profusion, in which vast sums are annually spent; and at some of the nautches, I have seen two hundred persons sit down to a sumptuous supper, where champagne circulated like water, and the richest ices were melted in the most costly liquors. These grand supper-rooms were lighted with a profusion of chandeliers and wax tapers under Indian table-shades, while the brilliancy was reflected by countless mirrors, and the atmosphere cooled by punkoes, tatties, and jets d'eau; artificial wildernesses breathed forth perfumes, and endless varieties of flowers called to recollection the scenes of Arabian story. Of these suppers, the Hindoos will

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 99—101.

† "In the city of Calcutta alone, it is supposed, upon a moderate calculation, that half a million sterling is expended annually on this festival. About fifty years ago (from 1811), Kundurpoo Gooroo, a *Kaustha*, expended in this worship 38,000*l*., and spent 12,500*l*. annually, as long as he lived, in the same manner."—Ward's Hindoos, ii. 109.

not of course partake; but they enter the apartment, congratulate the guests, and see that the European tavern-keepers employed to prepare them, provide every thing on a liberal scale. Previous to the time at which these supper-rooms are suddenly thrown open as if by enchantment, the crowds of company are entertained in a great amphitheatre, by dancing girls, bands of music, both European and native, tumblers, jugglers, actors and pantomimes, forming an assemblage which, from the costume of so many different nations, is like a great fancy ball. Perfumes and flowers are distributed, and sweetmeats handed about. Some sit and look at the dances, while others promenade round the virandas, to view the household gods, hundreds of whom are placed in conspicuous situations, some half elephant and man, others with numerous heads and arms, here quite naked, there sumptuously arrayed. The apartments of the Hindoo ladies look down upon this great amphitheatre; and from a gallery, these recluses may be seen peeping through lattice-work on the *tomasha* below. European ladies, on the evenings of the Doorga poojah, are asked to visit the *female* part of the family, whom they have always found apparently happy and full of curiosity. Many of them sing very sweetly, and play well on instruments something like guitars. A native band of music consists of these instruments and others like clarionets, with cymbals and kettle-drums, which produce very wild, pleasing, and melancholy harmony; but most of the favourite airs of the higher class are Persian. The dancing girls are gorgeously dressed, and covered with ornaments. Their dances consist of sudden transitions; the movement is sometimes so slow that one would think they were falling asleep; then, by a change of the music, it is all life, and exhibits

the most rapid succession of violent action. Now they take up their robe, and fold it into various shapes; then they let it go, so that, while they turn round like a top, this garment forms a circle resembling a peacock's tail, and this circulation is continued so long that it excites the wonder of every beholder." *

Mrs. Heber, the Bishop's lady, thus describes one of these *nautches*, given upon a different occasion. "I joined Lady M'Naghten and a large party this evening to go to a nâch given by a rich native, Roupläll Mullich, on the opening of his new house. The outside was brilliantly illuminated, and, as the building is a fine one, the effect was extremely good. The crowd without the gates was great. We were ushered into a large hall, occupying the centre of the house, round which ran two galleries with a number of doors opening into small apartments; the upper ones being for the most part inhabited by the females of the family, who were of course invisible to us, though they were able to look down into the hall through the venetians. This hall is open to the sky, but on this, as on all public occasions, it was covered in with scarlet cloth, with which the floor was also carpetted. All the large native houses are built on this principle, and the fathers, sons, and grandsons, with their respective families, live together, till their numbers become too great, when they separate like the Patriarchs of old, and find out new habitations. The magnificence of the building, the beautiful pillars supporting the upper galleries, and the expensive and numerous glass chandeliers with which it was lighted,—formed a striking contrast with the dirt, the apparent poverty, and the slovenliness of

* Fifteen Years, pp. 276—8.

every part that was not prepared for exhibition; the rubbish left by the builders had actually never been removed out of the lower gallery; the banisters of the stair-case, in itself paltry, were of common unpainted wood, and broken in many places; and I was forced to tread with care to avoid the masses of dirt over which we walked.

"On entering, we found a crowd collected round a songstress of great reputation, named Viiki, the Catalani of the East, who was singing in a low but sweet voice some Hindoostanee songs, accompanied by inartificial and unmelodious native music. As the crowd was great, we adjourned into a small room opening out of the upper gallery, where we sat listening to one song after another, devoured by swarms of mosquitos, till we were heartily tired; when her place was taken by the Nâch, or dancing girls,—if dancing that could be called which consisted in strained movements of the arms, head, and body, the feet, though in perpetual slow motion, seldom moving from the same spot. Some story was evidently intended to be told from the expression of their countenances, but to me it was quite unintelligible. I never saw public dancing in England so free from every thing approaching to indecency. Their dress was modesty itself, nothing but their faces, feet, and hands being exposed to view. An attempt at buffoonery next followed, ill imagined, and worse executed, consisting of a bad imitation of English country dances by ill-dressed men. In short, the whole exhibition was fatiguing and stupid,—nearly every charm but that of novelty being wanting.

"To do us greater honour, we were now shewn into another room, where a supper-table was laid out to a select few, and I was told, the great supper-room was well supplied with eatables. I returned home

between twelve and one, much tired, and not in the least disposed to attend another nâch." *

During the celebration of the *poojah*, the images of the goddess and some other divinities, are drawn about in splendid artificial pagodas, made of artificial frame-work, similar to the great carriage of Juggernaut ; and are carried with great pomp to the Hooghly and bathed. " In all the bâzars, at every shop-door, are suspended wooden figures and human heads with the neck painted blood-colour ; referring, I imagine," says Mrs. Graham, " to the human sacrifices formerly offered to this deity." Sheep, goats, buffaloes, and, in some places, tame hogs are now sacrificed to Doorga in immense numbers.† Mr. Ward, the Serampore Missionary, describes a *nautch* at which he was present, in October 1806, given in honour of this goddess, at the house of Rajah Raj Krishna at Calcutta. The buildings where the festival was held, surrounded a quadrangular area. " The room to the east contained wine, English sweetmeats, &c. for the entertainment of the English guests, who were waited upon by Portuguese natives. In the opposite room was placed the image, with vast heaps of offerings of all kinds before it. In the two side-rooms were the native guests; and in the area were groupes of Hindoo dancing-women finely dressed, singing and dancing with sleepy steps, surrounded with Europeans, who were sitting on chairs and couches. One or two groupes of Mussulman men-singers entertained the company at intervals

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 47, 8. See also Graham's Journal, p. 134. The Bishop very properly declined to attend the *nautch*, from " a regard to the scruples of the Christian and Mohammedan inhabitants of Calcutta," many of whom look on all these feasts as offered in honour of some idol. See 1 Cor. x. 19, 20.

† The particulars of these rites, and of all the ceremonies of the Doorga festival, are given in Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. ch. iii. § 1.

with Hindostanee songs and ludicrous tricks. Before two o'clock, the place was cleared of the dancing girls and of all the Europeans except ourselves; and almost all the lights were extinguished, except in front of the goddess. The doors of the area were then thrown open, and a vast crowd of natives rushed in, almost treading one upon another; among whom were the vocal singers having caps like sugar-loaves. The area might be about fifty cubits long and thirty wide. When the crowd had sat down, they were so wedged together as to present the appearance of a solid pavement of heads; a small space only being left immediately before the image, for the motions of the singers, who all stood up. Four sets of singers were present on this occasion; the first consisting of bramhuns, the next of bankers, the next of *voishnuvus*, and the last of weavers. They entertained the guests with filthy songs, and danced in indecent attitudes before the goddess, every now and then bending their bodies, and almost tearing the air with their vociferations. The dress of the singers, their indecent gestures, the abominable nature of their songs, the horrid din of their miserable drum, the lateness of the hour, the darkness of the place, with the reflection that I was standing in an idol temple, and that this immense multitude were, in the very act of worship, perpetrating a crime of high treason against the God of heaven, excited ideas and feelings in my mind, which time can never obliterate." *

The singing is continued for three nights, from about two o'clock in the morning till nine; and in many instances, the festival is closed with scenes of the most shameful intoxication. The rites of Bacchus and Cybele are perpetuated in the worship of

* Ward, vol. i. pp. 117—119.

Doorga.* The grosser excesses, however, would seem to be for the most part veiled from the eyes of Europeans; and hence a degree of incredulity has prevailed with regard to their existence, although the facts are established by the most unquestionable testimony. We gladly turn from this revolting subject to scenes of a far more pleasing character.

A morning may be delightfully spent in a visit to the Botanic Garden. Here, without wandering through the pestilential forests and swampy jungles of a country lavishly adorned with profuse and brilliant vegetation, you may see, in one short ramble, all the varieties of vegetable form known throughout India, together with a vast collection of exotics, chiefly collected by Dr. Wallich himself, in Nepal, Pulo Penang, Sumatra, and Java, and increased by contributions from the Cape, Brazil, and different parts of Africa and America, as well as Australasia and the South Seas. "It is not only a curious," says Bishop Heber, "but a picturesque and most beautiful scene, and more perfectly answers to Milton's idea of Paradise, except that it is on a dead flat instead of a hill, than any thing which I ever saw. Among the exotics, I noticed the nutmeg, a pretty tree something like a myrtle, with a peach-like blossom, but too delicate even for the winter of Bengal, and therefore placed in

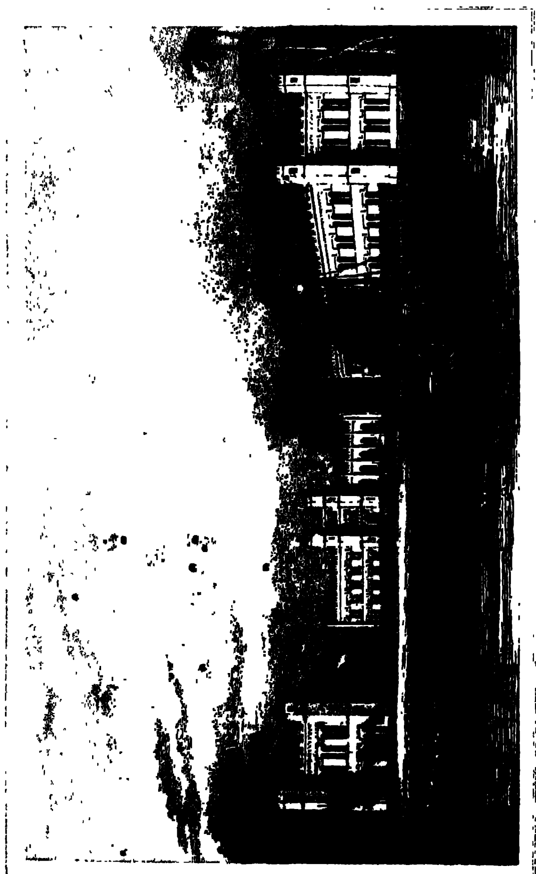
* The Abbé Dubois, in his "Letters on the State of Christianity in India," written in *vindication* of the Hindoos, represents them as "given over (by God) for ever to a reprobate mind, on account of the peculiar wickedness of their worship, which supposes, in those among whom it prevails, a degree of perversity far beyond that of all the old pagan nations." p. 112. And in his previous and more authentic work, he says: "There are some practices so enormously wicked, that every thing recorded in history, of the debauchery and obscenities that were practised among the Greeks in the temple of Venus, sinks to nothing in comparison."—Manners and Customs, &c. p. 412. See also pp. 424; 190—194.

the most sheltered situation and carefully matted round. The sago-palm is a tree of great singularity and beauty, and, in a greve or avenue, produces an effect of striking solemnity, not unlike that of Gothic architecture. There were some splendid South American creepers; some plantains from the Malayan Archipelago, of vast size and beauty; and what excited a melancholy kind of interest, a little wretched oak, kept alive with difficulty under a sky and in a temperature so perpetually stimulating, which allows it no repose or time to shed its leaves and recruit its powers by hybernation...Dr. Wallich has the management of another extensive public establishment at Tittyghur, near Barrackpoor, of the same nature with this, but appropriated more to the introduction of useful plants into Bengal. These public establishments used to be all cultivated by the convicts in chains. In the Botanic Garden, their place is now supplied by peasants hired by the day or week, and the exchange is found cheap as well as otherwise advantageous; the labour of freemen, here, as well as elsewhere, being infinitely cheaper than that of slaves."*

To the north of the Botanic Garden, and separated from it by an extensive plantation of teak-trees, stands the new College, founded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at the suggestion of Bishop Middleton. It stands in a prominent situation, commanding a fine expanse of the river, and is a marked object in approaching the capital. From a little distance, it appears a beautiful building, in the Gothic style of Queen Elizabeth's time. The centre is 150 feet in length, and the wings being of the same extent, it occupies three sides of a quadrangle.

Fort William stands about a quarter of a mile below

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 52—4.



the town. It is of an octagonal form, and is superior in strength and regularity to any fortress in India. Its foundation was laid by Lord Clive, soon after the battle of Plassy in 1758, the old fort of Calcutta having been found unfit to sustain a siege.* The works are scarcely raised above the level of the country ; a circumstance which excites surprise in natives coming from the interior, as they connect the idea of strength with elevation, and they generally mistake the barracks for the fort. " The barracks are superb, and the remarkable state of cleanliness in which their shady walks and fine parades are kept, together with the attraction of a military band, draws all the fashion of the city to promenade there, and causes it to be a continual scene of gayety, except during the monsoon. In this fortress, the Honourable Company have an excellent arsenal and a gun-foundry, with a large establishment for the preparation of the material of an army."† The garrison is usually composed of two or three European regiments and one of artillery. The native corps, amounting to about 4000 men, are generally cantoned at Barrackpoor, fifteen miles higher up the river. The wells in the different out-works, some of which are 500 yards from the river, during the hot season become so brackish as to be unfit either for culinary purposes or for washing.‡ Government has, conse-

* " It has since been discovered, that it is erected on too extensive a scale to answer the purpose for which it was intended, that of a tenable post in case of extremity ; as the number of troops required to garrison it properly, would be able to keep the field. It is capable of containing 15,000 men ; and the works are so extensive, that 10,000 would be required to defend them efficiently. From first to last, they have cost the East India Company two millions sterling." Hamilton, vol. i. p. 53.

† Fifteen Years, p. 67.

‡ Up to 1814, it had been a received opinion, that the soil in the vicinity of Calcutta was full of springs ; but, after boring to the

quently, formed an immense reservoir, occupying one of the bastions, to be filled with rain water. Fort William stands in lat. 22° 23′ N.; long. 88° 28′ E.

The rush of the spring-tide up the river, called the bore, has rendered it necessary to lay down moorings before Calcutta. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Ganges, but it here assumes an extraordinary degree of impetuous violence. The sound resembles that of a steam-boat, but it is infinitely louder. Sometimes it takes one side of the river, and sometimes another, but it never extends over the whole basin. The side up which it rushes, is raised to a frightful height, (sometimes the river rises five feet at Calcutta,) and the appearance is that of a monstrous billow in a storm, or the dash of a foaming surf. Boats have been swallowed up by the bore, and the *dandies* on the Hooghly feel great terror at the idea of being caught by it. The time of its approach being well known, hundreds of boats may then be seen rowing as for life, towards the middle of the river, the crews urging on each other with wild shouts or shrieks, though, at the moment, no danger appears; but soon afterwards, the spectator is made sensible how necessary was the precaution, as the bore foams by with tremendous noise and velocity.

Barrackpoor, the Governor-General's country resi-

depth of 140 feet, no springs could be reached. The soil is a tenacious blue clay. At a depth of 35 feet, a *stratum* of decayed wood is found; the *debris*, it is supposed, of some ancient forest. Immense quantities of saltpetre are found in the Bengal plain. The tendency of the soil to produce it, Bishop Heber says, "is very annoying to the builders and the occupants of houses. It can scarcely be prevented from encroaching in a few years on the walls and floors of all lower rooms, so as to render them unwholesome, and eventually uninhabitable. Half the houses in Calcutta are in this predicament, and their ground-floors useless. Cellars are unknown in this part of India."—Heber, vol. i. p. 75.

dence, "is really," says Bishop Heber, "a beautiful place, and would be thought so in any country. It has, what is here unexampled, a park of about 250 acres of fine turf, with spreading scattered trees, of a character so European, that if I had not been on an elephant, and had not from time to time seen a tall coco-tree, towering above all the rest, I could have fancied myself on the banks of the Thames, instead of the Ganges." The view of the river, though less broad here than at Calcutta, is very fine; and the opposite bank is adorned with a thick robe of drooping bamboos, overtopped by the stately palm and feathery coco-nut, here and there opening into a lawn or garden surrounding a dwelling; and immediately in front is seen the quiet-looking town of Serampore, a Danish settlement, with its little spire and flag-staff, and neat white buildings, forming a very pleasing object. The cantonment of Barrackpoor is very pretty, consisting of a large village inhabited by soldiers, with bungalows for the European officers and other white inhabitants, who are attracted hither by the salubrity of the air, the vicinity of the Governor's residence, or the beauty and convenience of the river. The park-grounds are about four miles in circumference. In one corner is an aviary, built after the model of a Gothic chapel. The collection of birds, with the exception of a few rare specimens from the eastward, is not remarkable Neither is the *ménagerie*, we are told, so extensive or fine as might be expected. The black panther, the wild Cape dog, and the Java pig with a curious snout protruding like the proboscis of the elephant, and used in like manner, are among the few rare animals. There is also a species of buffalo, called the *ghyal*, a native of Nepaul and Thibet, much larger than any Indian cattle, with a bushy tail and immense horns, extend-

ing laterally, and forming almost a mass of white and solid bone to the centre of its forehead: it is very tame and gentle. Bishop Heber mentions also a handsome animal of the ass kind, from the Cape of Good Hope, strong and bony, yet finely formed, with fine eyes, and the skin beautifully clouded with different tints of ash and mouse colour: it is of a wild and untameable spirit. He met also two lynxes (*siya gush*), led each in a chain by his keeper, and one of them in body-clothes like an English greyhound; both perfectly tame and extremely beautiful creatures. The Bengalee bear appeared to him to form a link between the badger and the common bear: it burrows in the ground, and has a longer snout and claws than the European, although in every thing but its greater vivacity, it closely resembles the *bradypus* or sloth. It feeds chiefly on vegetables The Sincapore bear, which is somewhat smaller, is a beautiful animal, with a fine, black, close fur, very playful and not greedy. All of them climb like cats, notwithstanding their bulk, which equals that of a large Russian bear. But the noblest sight is three full-grown royal tigers of immense size, grouped together in one cage. Rajah Budenath Roy, an opulent *baboo*, has at Chitpoor, a *ménagerie* of animals and birds, inferior only to that at Barrackpoor.

Serampore is a handsome place, kept beautifully clean, and looking more like a European town than Calcutta or any of the neighbouring cantonments. Since the Copenhagen rupture, this once flourishing settlement has, however, grievously declined, and its revenues scarcely meet the current expenses. Many persons of different nations, who like a cheaper residence than Calcutta, take houses here. One of them was the abode of the excellent David Brown, and a

deserted pagoda was for some time the residence of Henry Martyn.* But Serampore has become more peculiarly interesting and celebrated from being the residence of those associate Missionaries whose literary achievements as oriental translators have excited the admiration of all Europe. It is now five and thirty years since the venerable father of the Serampore mission, Dr. Carey, first left Britain, with a view to devote himself to the cause of extending Christianity among the heathen population of India. Very little attention was, at that time, given to the subject in this country. The Missionary Society in connexion with which he embarked in this great enterprise, was an obscure provincial association; and of the five who formed its first committee of management, Carey was himself one; while three of the other four, on whom the chief weight of the undertaking rested, were his most intimate friends. He immediately directed his attention to two objects; first, to provide for his own support, that he might not be chargeable on the liberality of his English friends, and secondly, to master the vernacular languages of the country, with a view to the translation of the Holy Scriptures. In 1799, after he had prosecuted his solitary labours for about six years, four other individuals, actuated by similar views, went out to unite in the undertaking, only two of whom, however, lived to take an active part in it; viz., the Rev. Mr. Ward, the author of the View of the History and Literature of the Hindoos, who died in the year 1823, and Dr. Marshman, the author of the first complete Version of the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language. In the course of somewhat more than thirty years, the whole of the inspired volume has been ren-

* At Aldeen, below Serampore.

dered, by these indefatigable men, with their colleagues and native assistants, into nine of the Indian dialects, and the New Testament into fifteen more. Of the Bengalee version,* five editions have been circulated, and a sixth is in the press, together with second editions of the Hindee, the Orissa, the Mahratta, and the Sanscrit.† The other languages into which translations are in different degrees of advancement, are, The Telinga, the Sikh (or Punjaubee), the Gujuratee, the Kunkuna, the Kurnata (or Canara), the Pushtoo, the Assamee, the Wutch (or Moultanee), the Bikaneer, the Cashmeer, the Bhugulkund, the Maruwar, the Harotee, the Kunoja, the Oojein (or Oojjuyinee), the Khassee, the Bruj, the Jumboo, the Munipoor, the Magadha (or Pali), and three or four of the dialects spoken by the mountaineers of Kumaoon and Nepaul.‡ The Chinese Version was commenced in

* Commenced in 1794, and finished at press, in 1801. In this Version, more especially, Dr. Carey was assisted by his eldest son, the late Felix Carey, who, having arrived in India at the age of ten years, spoke and wrote several of the native dialects with ease and accuracy. His indefatigable labours and studies are supposed to have hastened his death at the early age of thirty-five.

† These were severally commenced in 1802, 3, and 4, and brought to a conclusion at press, in 1811.

‡ See Seventh and Ninth Memoir respecting Translations, printed at Serampore. Brief Memoir relating to Serampore, London, 1827. Also, Eclectic Review, New Series, vol. xx., pp. 438—457, vol. xxiv. pp. 482—511. Most of these languages differ only as dialects; and "above three-fourths of the words in most of the secondary cognate languages, were understood in all their bearings through the Sungskrit, the Bengalee, and the Hindee, before the versions were begun." The reason for entering simultaneously upon so many translations, was this. The Marquis Wellesley had, during his administration, collected at Fort William, a number of learned natives, most of whom, on his leaving India, were discharged. The opportunity thus presented to the Missionaries, of engaging so many persons well qualified to assist them in the arduous work of translation, was too valuable to be neglected. Dr. Carey had already mastered the Sanscrit and

1806; and in seven years, the New Testament was completed at the Serampore press. In 1822, after the incessant labour of sixteen years, Dr. Marshman had the happiness of bringing to a completion his Version of the whole Bible. In the following year, Dr. Morrison, who had been simultaneously occupied on an independent Chinese translation at Canton, completed his Version. A second edition of the whole Bible has now been commenced at Serampore, founded on a collation of both versions.*

Besides these Biblical labours, which, to adopt the ingenuous panegyric of a learned orientalist (M. Rémusat), will entitle their authors to rank, in the memory of the learned, with Ximenes, Walton, and Montanus,—the Serampore Missionaries have been actively engaged in establishing schools and missionary stations in different parts of the Presidency, and in printing and circulating tracts in various languages. To them, we have already seen, is due the merit of having first set on foot the native schools, now so extensively patronised; and, in the year 1818, they followed up their plans for propagating Christian knowledge, by founding at Serampore a college, for the purpose of giving a superior education to the children of Christian natives, and of preparing a body of native Christian preachers. No sooner had they announced their design, than Lord Hastings gave an unequivocal mark of his approbation, by becoming a patron of the infant institution. His Danish Majesty has since presented to the Serampore

the Bengalee, which formed the basis of these translations; and he was thus fully competent to direct and superintend the whole of this living polyglott apparatus.

* See, respecting these versions, Mod. Trav. Persia, &c., vol. ii. p. 283. M. Rémusat pronounces the Serampore the more literal version, the Canton, the most conformed to Chinese taste.

Missionaries, in trust, a house for the college, and has incorporated it by royal charter. The buildings, when complete, are designed for four professors and two hundred native students: forty-seven are now in attendance, of whom six are studying divinity with a view to missionary labours. In the college chapel, Divine worship is conducted, morning and evening, in Bengalee. The general object of the Institution, it will be seen, is the same as the Episcopal College subsequently set on foot by Bishop Middleton; and India will reap the advantage of their amicable rivalry.*

In passing the next reach above Barrackpore, we come upon the French settlement of Chandernagore, situated upon the right bank of the river, and wearing a very distinct and much less striking appearance. "Large, lofty houses and warehouses, discoloured, decaying, and half-empty, speak of lofty speculations and disappointed hopes. A forsaken monastery completes the picture."† The streets present a remarkable scene of solitude and desertion. "I saw," says Bishop Heber, "no boats loading or unloading at the quay, no porters with burdens in the streets, no carts, no market people, and in fact, only a small native bazar, and a few dismal-looking European shops. In the streets, I met two or three Europeans smoking segars, having almost all the characteristic features and appearance of Frenchmen."‡ About two miles below

* All the labours of the Serampore brethren are gratuitous; and they have themselves contributed to the objects and expenses of the mission, in the course of twenty-seven years, sums amounting to upwards of 72,000*l.*, the fruit of their honourable earnings; exclusive of the funds derived from the Missionary Society in England.

† Sketches of India, p. 127.

‡ Heber, vol. i. p. 64. Yet, the population in 1814, was 41,337; and the revenue which it yielded, amounted to 32,154 rupees.

Chandernagore, are the ruins of a superb house, the country residence of its former governors.

The Dutch settlement of Chinsurah is about three miles higher up the river. "It has quite a national character. Many small, neat houses with green doors and windows; a pretty little square, with grass-plot and promenades, shaded by trees; a fortified factory; and a gloomy old-fashioned government-house, are the more remarkable features." This colony has been recently transferred to the British Government, and the Dutch church is now appropriated to the forms of the episcopal ritual. A large Italian-looking church and a small convent, at a place called Bandel (*Bunder*, *i.e.* port), just above the native town of Hooghly, are all that remains to tell that the Portuguese had once a settlement there. Hooghly is situated on the right bank. twenty-six miles above Calcutta. The river here contracts very much, and the banks are higher and more precipitous. The bore, which commences at Hooghly Point, is perceptible above Hooghly town, a distance of seventy miles, which it travels in less than four hours.*

As a proof of the alterations which have taken place in this branch of the Ganges, it deserves mention, that, when Chandernagore was taken from the French in 1757, Admiral Watson brought up a seventy-four gun ship to batter it.

Hamilton, vol. i. p: 62. Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 109. Its position is said to be in every respect superior to that of Calcutta.

* At Hooghly, in 1632, (then a Portuguese settlement,) the first serious quarrel happened between the Moguls and the Europeans. After a siege of three months and a half, it was taken by assault, and great numbers were massacred. In 1686, the English were involved in hostilities with the Nabob, which ultimately led to the abandonment of the factory, and they retired to Chuttanuttee or Calcutta.—See vol. ii. p. 18.

FROM CALCUTTA TO DACCA.

On the 15th of June (1824), Bishop Heber left Calcutta for his visitation through the Upper Provinces. His first voyage was to Dacca, the provincial capital of the eastern division of Bengal, by a tedious and intricate navigation, which lay through a part of the country rarely traversed by Europeans. His Lordship embarked in a fine sixteen-oared pinnace, followed by Archdeacon Corrie with his family in a budgerow, and attended by two smaller boats, one for cooking, the other for baggage. Some miles above Hooghly, the main stream receives the Jellinghey branch of the Great Ganges, by which, when there is water enough to float large vessels, is the most direct communication between Calcutta and Dacca. Turning into this channel, the Bishop continued his course, in a direction N.E. by N., through a country more bare of trees, and more abundant in pasture, than he had yet seen. After passing the large village of Ranaghaut, the stream became wider and deeper, and the course chiefly N.W.;*, the banks were higher and more precipitous, and coco-trees re-appeared, towering, here and there, over the bamboos, banyans, and fruit-trees. On the second night after entering this channel (June 18), the boats brought to at Sibnibashi (Sivanivasa), a ruined Hindoo city which appears to have been once a place of some importance.† The high, angular domes of some pagodas, seen above the trees of a thick wood, induced the Bishop to land; and the jungle proved to be full of ruins. Two very

* "A circumstance irreconcileable with Rennell's map, unless the discrepancy can be accounted for by an extraordinary alteration of the river's channel."

† The Sibnibas of Rennell is placed further south, and on a different side of the river.

fine, intelligent-looking boys, whom his Lordship met, informed him, that the place was really Sibnibashi; that it was very large and very old; and that there were good paths through the ruins. The youths were naked, all but the waist-cloth, like the other peasants; but the Brahminical string over their shoulders, marked their superior caste. "After a few questions," continues the Bishop, "they whispered to each other, and ran towards the jungle, leaving us to pursue our track, which was narrow and winding through masses of brick-work and earthen mounds, with many tamarind and peepul trees, intermixed with thickets of cactus, bamboo, and a thorny plant a little like the acacia; on the whole, reminding me of some parts of the Roman wall at Silchester. We found four pagodas, not large, but of good architecture and very picturesque, so that I much regretted the having left my sketch-book on board, and the more so because it was now too late to get it before dusk. The sight of one of the peons, who had followed me, though without orders, with his silver mace, procured us much respect from the Brahmins and villagers, and the former were urgent to shew us their temples. The first which we visited, was evidently the most modern, being, as the officiating Brahmin told us, only fifty-seven years old. In England, we should have thought it at least two hundred; but in this climate, a building soon assumes, without constant care, all the venerable tokens of antiquity. It was very clean, however, and of good architecture; a square tower surmounted with a pyramidal roof, with a high cloister of pointed arches surrounding it externally to within ten feet of the springing of the vault. The cloister was also vaulted, so that, as the Brahmin made me observe, with vi-

sible pride, the whole roof was '*pucka*' or brick, and '*belathee*' or foreign. A very handsome Gothic arch, with an arabesque border, opened on the south side, and shewed within, the statue of Rama, seated on a lotus, with a gilt but tarnished umbrella over his head; and his wife, the earth-born Seeta, beside him. A sort of dessert of rice, ghee, fruit, sugar-candy, &c., was ranged before them, on what had the appearance of silver dishes; and the remaining furniture of the temple consisted of a large gong hanging on the wall, and some *kedgeree* pots. From hence we went to two of the other temples, which were both octagonal, with domes not unlike those of glass-houses. They were both dedicated to Siva (who, Abdullah, according to his Mussulman notions, said, was the same with Adam), and contained nothing but the symbol of the Deity, of black marble. On paying my fee to the Brahmins who kept these shrines, I was surprised to find, that they would not receive it immediately from my hand, but that they requested me first to lay it down on the threshold. I thought it right to explain that I meant it for them, and in return for their civility, not as an offering to their god; but they answered, that they could not receive any thing except from their own caste, unless it were thus laid before them. I, therefore, of course, complied, though a little surprised at a delicacy of which I had found no symptom in those Brahmins whom I had previously met with......Meantime, the priest of Rama came up with several of the villagers, to ask if I would see the Raja's palace. On my assenting, they led us to a really noble Gothic gateway, overgrown with beautiful broad-leaved ivy, but in good preservation, and decidedly handsomer, though in pretty much the same style, than the 'Holy Gate' of the Kremlin in

Moscow. Within this, which had apparently been the entrance into the city, extended a broken but still stately avenue of tall trees, and on either side a wilderness of ruined buildings, overgrown with trees and brushwood, which reminded Stowe of the Baths of Caracalla, and me of the upper part of the city of Caffa. I asked, who had destroyed the place, and was told, Seraiah Dowla; an answer which (as it was evidently a Hindoo ruin) fortunately suggested to me the name of the Raja Kissen Chund. On asking whether this had been his residence, one of the peasants answered in the affirmative, adding, that the Raja's grand-children yet lived hard by. By this I supposed he meant somewhere in the neighbourhood, since nothing here promised shelter to any beings but wild beasts; and, as I went along, I could not help looking carefully before me, and thinking of Thalaba in the ruins of Babylon:

'Cautiously he trode, and felt
The dangerous ground before him with his bow;
* * * * *
The adder, at the noise alarmed,
Launch'd at th' intruding staff her arrowy tongue.'

"Our guide meantime turned short to the right, and led us into what were evidently the ruins of a very extensive palace. Some parts of it reminded me of Conway Castle, and others of Bolton Abbey. It had towers like the former, though of less stately height, and had also long and striking cloisters of Gothic arches, but all overgrown with ivy and jungle, roofless and desolate. Here, however, in a court whose gateway had still its old folding doors on their hinges, the two boys whom we had seen on the beach, came forward to meet us, were announced to us as the grandsons of Raja Kissen Chund, and invited us very courteously, in Persian, to enter their father's

dwelling. I looked round in exceeding surprise. There was no more appearance of inhabitation than in Conway. Two or three cows were grazing among the ruins, and one was looking out from the top of a dilapidated turret, whither she had scrambled to browze on the ivy. The breech of a broken cannon, and a fragment of a mutilated inscription, lay on the grass, which was evidently only kept down by the grazing of cattle; and the jackalls, whose yells began to be heard around us as the evening closed in, seemed the natural lords of the place. Of course I expressed no astonishment, but said, how much respect I felt for their family, of whose ancient splendour I was well informed, and that I should be most happy to pay my compliments to the Raja, their father. They immediately led us up a short, steep, straight flight of steps, in the thickness of the wall of one of the towers, precisely such as that of which we find the remains in one of the gateways of Rhuddlan Castle; assuring me, that it was a very 'good road;' and at the door of a little vaulted and unfurnished room, like that which is shewn in Caernarvon Castle as the queen's bed-chamber, we were received by the Raja Omichund, a fat, shortish man, of about forty-five, of rather fair complexion, but with no other clothes than his waist-cloth and Brahminical string, and only distinguished from his vassals by having his forehead marked all over with alternate stripes of chalk, vermilion, and gold leaf. The boys had evidently run home to inform him of our approach, and he had made some preparation to receive us in *durbar*. His own musnud was ready; a kind of mattress laid on the ground, on which, with a very harmless ostentation, he had laid a few trinkets, a gold watch, a betel-nut box, &c. &c. Two old arm-chairs were placed opposite for Stowe

and me. The young Rajas sat down at their father's right hand, and his naked domestics ranged themselves in a line behind him, with their hands respectfully folded. On the other side, the sotaburdar stood behind me; Stowe's servant took place behind him, and Abdullah between us as interpreter; which function he discharged extremely well, and which was the more necessary, since, in strict conformity with court etiquette, the conversation passed in Persian. I confess I was moved by the apparent poverty of the representative of a house once very powerful, and paid him more attention than I perhaps might have done, had his drawing-room presented a more princely style. He was exceedingly pleased by my calling him 'Maharajah,' or Great King, as if he were still a sovereign like his ancestors, and acknowledged the compliment by a smile and a profound reverence. He seemed, however, much puzzled to make out my rank, never having heard (he said) of any 'Lord Sahib' except the Governor-General; while he was still more perplexed by the exposition of 'Lord Bishop Sahib,' which, for some reason or other, my servants always prefer to that of 'Lord Padre.' He apologized very civilly for his ignorance, observing, that he had not been for many years in Calcutta, and that very few sahibs ever came that way. I told him, that I was going to Dacca, Benares, Delhi, and possibly Hurdwar; that I was to return in nine or ten months; and that, should he visit Calcutta again, it would give me great pleasure if he would come to see me. He said, he seldom stirred from home; but, as he spoke, his sons looked at him with so much earnest and intelligible expression of countenance, that he added, that 'his boys would be delighted to see Calcutta, and to wait on me.' He then asked very particularly of

Abdullah, in what street and what house I lived. After a short conversation of this kind, and some allusions on my part to his ancestors and their ancient wealth and splendour, which were well taken, we took leave, escorted to the gate by our two young friends, and thence, by a nearer way through the ruins, to our pinnace, by an elderly man, who said he was the Raja's '*muktar*,' or chamberlain, and whose obsequious courtesy, high reverence for his master's family, and numerous apologies for the unprepared state in which we had found 'the court,' reminded me of old Caleb Balderstone." *

The two young rajahs returned the visit that same evening, transformed into eastern beaux by the addition of white muslin dresses and turbans of gold brocade, and bringing a present of mangoes, sugar, and pastry. They sat some time, occasionally answering in Hindoostanee, but generally preferring Persian, of their acquirements in which they seemed proud; and they expressed some surprise that the Bishop did not speak it. At length, as a sign of their *ruksut* (dismissal), his Lordship poured some lavender-water on their hands and handkerchiefs, apologizing that he had no attar, and saying that it was *belatee-gulab* (foreign rose-water). They received this mark of attention with high satisfaction. The news had by this time spread, that a '*burra admee* (great man) had come to visit the Rajah; and, as the consequence, probably, of this report, about one o'clock, three of Kali's light-fingered worshippers were detected cautiously swimming towards the pinnace. The alarm of *decoit! decoit!* being given, they soon disappeared up the river-banks; "and thus," says the amiable

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 119—126.

Narrator, "we had a specimen of both the good and the evil of India."

The next day (June 19), the course was for the most part N. and N.W.; the river much broader, with sandy banks, covered with low silky rushes. Many cormorants, cranes, and porpoises were seen, but no alligators. At Kishenpol, where the boats brought to, "the river had decidedly a western course." * On the other side of the river was a large encampment of gipsies, who live in India exactly like those of England; and their language is decidedly a dialect of the Hindoostanee.† The next day, the boatmen brought up near a large village called Cudampoor. "Holland itself could not have furnished a thicker or more stinking fog," than hung over the banks of the river early on the following morning, ushering in a tremendously hot day. The increase of the

* Flowing from the west, the Author probably means, as his course seems to have been westerly, against the stream.

† Abdullah, a Mussulman convert of Archdeacon Corrie's, whom the Bishop had taken into his service as *jemautdar* or head officer of the peons, had travelled in Persia with Sir Gore Ouseley, and accompanied him to England. He said, that he had seen the same people both in Persia and in Russia, and that in Persia, they spoke Hindoostanee as in India. On inquiry, it was found that the people in Persia whom he identified with the gipsies, were the wandering tribes of Looristan and Koordistan. He described them as of much better caste and richer than in any other countries. Lieut. Heude informs us, that, when in Koordistan, he found his Hindoostanee of the greatest use, "one-half or three-fourths of the proper names of things being very similar in both dialects." That they are derived from the same root, he says, is beyond a doubt; and "the Koordish is to the full as similar to the Hindoostanee as the Persian has generally been esteemed."—Heude's Voyage, p. vii. Lord Teignmouth held a conversation in Hindoostanee with an old gipsy in Norwood. It seems probable, as Bishop Heber remarks, that Persia, not India, has been the original centre of this nomadic race. The time and occasion of their arrival in Europe seems the chief problem in their history.

population in this part of the course, was very striking, it being apparently as dense as in any part of Bengal which the Bishop had yet seen, but exclusively Bengalee and agricultural. Barges were numerous, bringing salt from Calcutta, and carrying back mustard-seed, which, in the shape of oil, is one of the most indispensable requisites in a Hindoo family. On the 22nd, having, through want of information, passed the channel which is the nearest way to Dacca, the Bishop turned into a branch which trended directly S.E., where "a strong, whirly, dimpling stream," though the wind was contrary, urged the boats merrily forwards. "In both these respects," remarks the Author, "we had previously experienced the contrary; so that we found that, to this point, we had been ascending one branch of the Matabunga, flowing westward towards the Hooghly, but that the present was another, which reverted by a southerly course, and with greater rapidity, to the mighty Ganges, from which it at first had issued. This is not a peaceable stream, like the one we had quitted, but hurries with it trees and bushes, throwing up numerous sand-banks, between which our course was indeed very often narrow and perplexing, though in the bed of the river there was always a considerable depth of water." This circumstance materially increased the labours of the boatmen, who had continually to jump into the water to stave off the pinnace, or to push her over different obstacles, as they were obliged to swim every ten or twenty yards. For six or eight miles, they advanced in this manner, sometimes banging on the sunken trees, sometimes scraping against sand-banks, sometimes whirling round like a reel, but still trundling on faster than might have been expected, till, at length, all progress was stopped by a dam of earth, sand, and

clay thrown up across the river by the force of this restless stream, leaving only two narrow and irregular channels, through which the river tumbled with great impetuosity into a basin some three feet below. A few days before, there had been no passage here at all, and the river had been standing in tanks all the way to the Pudda or Great Ganges. The rains had now forced this opening, and some large vessels were waiting both above and below the fall, till the channel should be sufficiently widened. Every part of the bank was covered with men, women, and children, catching fish with long fish-spears, scoop, and casting-nets. At this time of year, nothing is eaten by the natives, in this part, but fish, with which of all sizes the waters teem. Several tortoises were seen near the bar. The country is open and cultivated, but interspersed with groves, and "displaying as much variety as Bengal is susceptible of." * By the temptation of a few *anas*, some of the villagers were induced to bring their hoes and work away the bar so as to open a wider channel; and on the next day, the Bishop was able to proceed on his voyage. "The country continued extremely pretty, the high banks being fringed almost down to the water's edge with bamboos, long grass, and creepers, and the shore

* On the bank was noticed a dwarf mulberry-tree. A very handsome, sleek young bull, branded with the emblem of Siva, was grazing in the green paddy. "These bulls are turned out when calves, on solemn occasions, by wealthy Hindoos, as an acceptable offering to Siva. It would be a mortal sin to strike or injure them. They feed where they choose, and devout persons take great delight in pampering them. They are exceeding pests in the villages near Calcutta, breaking into gardens, thrusting their noses into the stalls of fruiterers' and pastry-cooks' shops, and helping themselves without ceremony. Like other petted animals, they are sometimes mischievous."—Heber, vol. i. p. 145.

above covered with noble banyans, palms, and peepuls, with very neat villages under their shade; while the figures of the women, in coarse but white cotton mantles, walking under the trees, and coming with their large earthen jars on their heads to draw water, gave a liveliness to the picture, which was very interesting." Several indigo-works were on the river side, and the appearance of the boats,* the houses, and the peasantry, all improved, the Author thought, as they approached the Pudda. The river-bank rose at least twenty-five feet above the surface of the water; yet, at the village near which they brought to, they were throwing up mud banks for causeys, and making other provision for communication and security to the height of three or four feet more; and all the table-land which the bank supported, was planted with paddy, and obviously prepared for the reception of water.

Early in the next day's voyage, one of those perilous accidents occurred, which are not infrequent in Indian rivers. "We were skirting," says the Bishop, "pretty near the base of a high crumbling bank at least thirty feet above us, when the agitation of the water, caused by our oars and the motion of the vessel, dislodged some of the sandy brink, and immediately a large body of sand and loose earth, of perhaps several hundred weight, slipped down in a formidable avalanche into the water, and half filled our cabin with the splash. Though it would hardly have sunk us, had it fallen on our deck, it would doubtless have

* "The boats on this river are much neater than those on the Hooghly. Their straw tilts are better made, their sterns are not so unreasonably high, their sails less flimsy; many of them are painted, and have copper or gilded eyes fixed into their bows and on each side of the helm, as in China."—Heber, vol. I. p. 150.

swamped the greater part of the boats we saw around us." * The boats brought to near a large village called Titybania, surrounded with rice-fields, with some patches of hemp.† Some Mussulman cottages were noticed, distinguished by the poultry seen round them. The next day, the river rapidly increased in size and beauty. The vegetation overhanging the high precipitous banks, was splendid, and some of the villages would be deemed neat even in Europe. Several considerable indigo-works appeared on the banks. They stopped for the night at a beautiful village amid magnificent banyan and peepul-trees, and surrounded with natural meadows and hedge-rows of young *toon*-trees, a tree which might be mistaken for ash; and, but for the cocos, the landscape would have had quite an English character. The course, for the last two days, was S.E. by E. Towards the close of the next day (June 20), they left the Mohanna river with its broad stream flowing southward to the Sunderbunds, and turning short to the left, began to ascend a narrow and very rapid current nearly due N., called the Mattacolly. This river expanded, after

* During the preceding night, the Author heard a noise in the cabin so exactly like the bubbling up of water through a narrow crevice, that he felt convinced there was a leak. On inquiry, he was told that it was the sound emitted by a sort of cricket or Indian deathwatch.

† Here the Author noticed for the first time the *goolun*, a large tree bearing a small and not ill-tasted fig, growing from the bark of the boughs and stems, like a gall-nut or oak-apple. The inquiry whether indigo was cultivated here, was answered in the negative. "Probably the soil might be too clayey. The indigo," it was added, "is a fine thing to put money into the purse of the *baboo*, but the poor people do not want to see it: it raises the price of rice and the rent of land." The rent of indigo-ground here was about 12 *anas* the *begah* (5*s*. per acre); that of the rice-ground, five (2*s*. per acre). This is far less than in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, but the place is very sequestered.

some hours, into a noble piece of water, little less than a mile across. The whole "lake" swarmed with small fishing-boats, engaged in catching the *hilsa* or sable-fish. To the N.W. about a mile further, was seen the broad mouth of another stream called the Commercolly, which now foamed along with the violence of a torrent, whirling with it trees, sods, bushes, and earthenware. The southern bank was high and precipitous, wooded, and populous. "Here," says the Bishop, "we passed a row of not fewer than nine or ten large and very beautiful otters, tethered with straw collars and long strings to bamboo stakes on the bank. Some were swimming about at the full extent of their strings, or lying half in and half out of the water; others were rolling themselves in the sun on the sandy bank, uttering a shrill whistling noise as if in play. I was told, that most of the fishermen in this neighbourhood kept one or more of these animals, who were almost as tame as dogs, and of great use in fishing, sometimes driving the shoals into the nets, sometimes bringing out the larger fish with their teeth."

On the 27th they passed, very early, the town of Mattacolly, which gives name to the stream; the largest assemblage of native huts which had occurred since leaving Calcutta. A considerable number of native vessels were moored before it, and the *Serang* spoke of it as a place of great trade, being the mart for salt to all the central districts of Bengal, and the principal source whence rice, mustard-oil, salt-fish, and butter are obtained for the Calcutta market. The usual channel of communication is by the Mohanna river and the Sunderbunds. The river the Bishop was now ascending, was found on the next day to twist so remarkably, that their course became N.E. by N.,

and they were thus enabled to make sail. On this day, they witnessed another instance of the precarious tenure of the high banks. From no other apparent cause than the agitation of the water occasioned by the vessel, though at some distance, a part of the cliff fell suddenly, to the weight of many tons; and, as if answering a signal, in two other places, the bank gave way in the same manner. Had the vessel been under either of them, it must have gone to the bottom. Early in the day, they passed Ruperra, a considerable village, with a large ruinous building of "Grecian architecture." The broad river, flowing with a very rapid current, and swarming with small picturesque canoes, now wound through fields of green corn, natural meadows covered with cattle, successive plantations of cotton, sugar, and pawn,* studded with villages and masts in every creek and angle, and backed continually, (though not in a continuous and heavy line like the shores of the Hooghly,) with magnificent peepul, banyan, bamboo, betel,† and coco-trees; affording, says the Author, "a succession of pictures infinitely beyond any thing which I ever expected to see in Bengal." The name of the river in this part, is the Chundnah. In the evening, they brought to near a large village called Tinyabanya. A large eagle

* The pawn "grows something like a kidney bean, and is carefully covered, above and on every side, with branches of bamboo, forming a sort of hedge and roof, about five or six feet high." The leaf is as large as a bay-leaf; and the retail price is sixty leaves for three halfpence: "no contemptible rate in a country where rice may be had at less than an *anà* the *seer* (¾*d.* for 2lbs.). Yet, the only use of pawn is to wrap up the betel nut." The pawn is the *piper-betel*. See vol. i. p. 47.

† The betel, by which is meant the areca-palm, is described as the tallest and slenderest of the palm kind, with a smooth white bark. "Nothing can be more graceful than its high slender pillars, when backed by the dark shade of bamboos and similar foliage."

was seen seated on an adjacent peepul-tree, on whi was hanging an earthen pot, brought thither by some person whose father was dead, in order that the ghost might drink. "I knew before," remarks the Bishop, "that spirits were supposed to delight in peepul-trees, but did not know, or had forgotten, the coincidence of the Brahminical with the classical χοαι."

About noon on the 29th, the stream they were ascending, which had been growing broader and broader, expanded into a sheet of water, the opposite bank of which was scarcely visible, "being in fact Gunga in her greatest pride and glory. The main arm stretched away to the N. W., looking like a sea with many sails upon it. Directly north, though at a considerable distance, the stream was broken by a large sandy island; and to the south, beyond some low sandy islets and narrower channels, we saw another reach, like the one to the north, with a sandy shore, looking not unlike the coast of Lancashire as seen trending away from the mouth of the Mersey. To one of these islets we stood across with a fine breeze. There, the boatmen drew ashore; and one of them came to ask me for an offering which, he said, it was customary to make at this point, to Khizr, for a good passage. Khizr, for whom the Mussulmans have a great veneration, is a sort of mythological personage, made up of different Rabbinical fables concerning Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, and the prophet Elijah, on which are engrafted the chivalrous legends respecting St. George! They believe him to have attended Abraham, in which capacity he drank of the fountain of youth, which gave him immortality. This is Rabbinical; but the Mussulmans also believe him to have gone dry-shod over Jordan, to have ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot, and lastly,

to be a valorous knight, who helps the arms of the believers, and will return at length on a white horse, a little before the day of judgement, together with, and as the Vizier of our Lord, to destroy Dejjal or Anti-Christ, and subdue the multitudes of Gog and Magog.* But as having access to the fountain of life, and as having passed Jordan, he is particularly disposed to love and cherish the waters, and all which belong to, or sail on them. Dacca, under the Mogul dynasty, was placed under his peculiar protection, and he naturally succeeded to that veneration which, in the same district, the Hindoos had previously been in the habit of paying to their Varuna, god of the seas and rivers.

"We stood across to the other side, leaving a large sandy island on the right-hand...The boatmen wished to shew their gratitude to St. Khizr by a little feast; and as the village where our lot was thrown, bade fair to be interesting, we disposed ourselves for an earlier and longer walk after dinner than usual. Meantime, we were besieged with beggars...We had a beautiful stroll along the beach and through the village, which, more than most I have seen, reminded me of the drawings of Otaheite and the Friendly Islands. It was surrounded with quillets of cotton, sugar-cane, and rice, overgrown with bamboos and palms; and on the shore were some fine specimens of the *datura stramonium*, which, as night came on, opened a magnificent

* Abdullah, the Bishop's *jemautdar*, remarked, that "surely the old religion of the Brahmins must have had some truth, since they all look forward to an incarnation of Vishnu on a white horse, to restore the world to happiness. They only not know," he said, "that Vishnu already incarnate, and that he come again when they mention, on white horse, as they speak;" alluding, as he afterwards explained himself, to the description of Christ in Revelation xxix. 11.

and very fragrant white lily-shaped flower, while all the grass and bushes were gemmed with brilliant fire-flies. A number of canoes were building on the beach, many of them very neatly made and clinkered. Dragon-root grows plentifully in all these thickets...I saw no fewer than three turf-built kiblas for the devotion or thanksgiving of Mohammedans; and a small shed contained the figure of a horse, rudely made of straw plastered over with clay, which I was at a loss whether to regard as Mohammedan or Pagan, since the Mussulmans of this country carry about an image of the horse of Hossein, and pay much honour to that of Khizr.* Near it was a small shed of bamboos and thatch, where a man was watching a field of cucumbers; which interested me as being the same custom to which Isaiah alludes, chap. I. verse 8."†

On the 1st of July, the Bishop pursued his course, the pinnace being towed along the western bank of the immense expanse of water, till opposite the town of Jaffiergunje, when they stood across the river, and brought to amid fields of rice, indigo, and sugar. The noise of the Ganges is really like the sea. The fishermen here are a finer race than those in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and their boats are better, though very rudely equipped. "Many have for sail a mat or cloth, suspended between two bamboos, one on each gunwale, like the New Zealanders; and one skiff passed, scudding under a yet simpler contrivance; two men standing up in her, and extending each a

* The Bheels, Sir John Malcolm tells us, often make small mud figures of horses, which they range round their idol, to whom they promise a fine charger if he will hear their petition; and it is not unusual to place the image upon one of these figures. Their extreme reverence for the horse, he says, is very singular. It is remarkable, that the horse was sacred to Neptune, as here it appears consecrated to Varuna or Khizr.

† Heber, vol. i., pp. 166—170.

garment with his feet and hands. I had seen some such representations of Cupids and Venuses on gems," adds the Bishop, "but little thought that the thing had its prototype in real life, and was the practice of any modern boatmen." They now entered the river of Jaffiergunge,* the banks of which are populous, and highly cultivated with rice, sugar, cotton, and indigo. The stream became broader till they entered on an immense extent of flat and flooded country, stretching as far as the eye could reach to the north-west, without even trees or any similar object to break the line of horizon. The stream was now in their favour, but the wind, shifting to the S.E., became so strong in their teeth, that the pinnace was at length obliged to be brought to, and the Bishop resolved to hasten forward to Dacca in the jolly-boat. The remainder of his voyage was rapid and easy. As the towers of Dacca rose to sight, the Bishop was surprised at the extent of the place, and the stateliness of the ruins of which the city seemed chiefly to consist. On approaching the shore, while yet at the distance of half a mile from its desolate palaces, a sound struck his ear, as if proceeding from the water, of the most solemn and singular description. "It was long, loud, deep, and tremulous, something between the bellowing of a bull and the roaring of a whale; or, perhaps, most like those roaring buoys which are placed at the mouths of some English harbours, in which the winds make a noise to warn ships off them." It proved to be the bellowing of elephants, of which the Company have here a stud of between two and three hundred. The

* "Called Comercolly in Rennell's map, which here, however, as in other places, probably from some alteration in the course of the stream, is utterly useless."

whole voyage from Calcutta to Dacca had occupied eighteen days.*

DACCA.

DACCA, the name at least of which is modern,† appears to have succeeded to the honours of Soonergong, a town thirteen miles to the S.E., where Fakher-uddeen, the first independent Mohammedan monarch of Bengal, fixed his residence, A.D. 1340, but which has now dwindled to a village. In the reign of Akbar, Rajmahal was the capital of Bengal; but in 1608, the soubahdar, Islam Khan, made Dacca the seat of his government, changing its name, in honour of the reigning emperor, to Jehanguire-nuggur. Here he built a palace and fort, of which the ruins form an imposing object. Sultan Sujah, in 1639, again transferred the government to Rajmahal; but in 1657, Meer Jumla, the great general of Aurungzebe, again made Dacca the metropolis. It appears to have attained its greatest splendour during this reign; and judging from the magnificence of its ruins, it must have vied in extent and wealth with the greatest cities of India. Under the Moguls, a naval establishment was maintained here, consisting of 768 armed cruizers, designed to guard the southern coast against the ravages of the Arracanese pirates. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, Dacca was the residence of Azim Ooshaun, the grandson of Aurungzebe, who

* According to Hamilton, Dacca is about 100 miles above the mouth of the Ganges, and 180 by road from Calcutta: by water, owing to the windings of the river, the distance is supposed to exceed 400 miles, and "the journey occupies from one to two weeks."

† It is not mentioned by Abulfazel. It stands in lat. 23° 42′ N., long. 90° 17′ E.

commenced and nearly finished a magnificent palace, now in ruins. It began to decline in consequence of the disorders which followed the invasion of Nadir Shah, and remained in a state of decay until, in 1744, the temporary establishment of a provincial council restored it for a time to a measure of its former importance. Hamilton says, that it suffered greatly, remote as it is, by the French revolution; he means in its commerce, "its beautiful fabrics having been held in great estimation at the old French court." In 1801, although its trade had greatly stagnated, the population was estimated by the magistrates to exceed 200,000 souls, the proportion of Mohammedans to Hindoos being 145 to 130.* The present magistrate, Mr. Master, rates the population at 300,000, having ascertained that there are above 90,000 houses and huts. Including the suburbs, the town extends six miles along the banks of the river. Like other native towns, it is a mixture of brick and thatch dwellings, with very narrow and crooked streets. Bishop Heber describes it as very like the worst part of Calcutta near Chitpoor, but with some really fine ruins intermingled with the mean huts which cover three-fourths of its space. The castle is of brick, yet shewing some traces of the plaster with which it has been covered: the architecture is "precisely that of the Kremlin of Moscow," of which city the Bishop was repeatedly reminded in his drive through the town. The pagodas are few and small, owing to the ascendancy of Mohammedism, and almost every brick building has its Persian or Arabic inscription. Most of these

* Hamilton, vol. i. p. 186. In the Missionary Register for February 1828, the inhabitants are stated at only 150,000, "of whom more than one-half are Mohammedans;" Bishop Heber was informed, three-fourths.

look very old, but none are of great antiquity. The European houses are mostly small and poor, compared with those of Calcutta; and such as are out of the town, are so surrounded with jungle and ruins as to give the idea of desolation and unhealthiness. No cultivation was visible, nor any space cleared, except an area of about twenty acres for the new military lines. Some ruined houses of Grecian architecture, which have a handsome appearance from the river, were the favourite residence of the late Nabob, and were ruined a few years ago, by the encroachments of the river. What the Bishop mistook at first for the spire of a church, proved to be a *mut*, or obelisk, erected as an act of piety by a Hindoo who, about thirty years ago, accumulated a large fortune in the service of the Company. Another *mut*, of a similar form, stands a little way out of the town. The castle, the noble mosque, and the palaces of the ancient Nabobs, the factories and churches of the Dutch, French, and Portuguese, are all sunk to ruin and overgrown with jungle. Mr. Master, the British judge, had been present at a tiger-hunt in the court of the old palace, during which the elephant of one of his friends fell into a well overgrown with weeds and bushes. "There are still a few Armenians resident in the town; some of them are wealthy, who have a church with two priests. There are also a few Portuguese, very poor and degraded. Of Greeks, the number is considerable; and they are described as an industrious and intelligent people, mixing more with the English than the rest, and filling many of the subaltern situations under Government." * There is a very small but pretty

* Heber, vol. i. p. 185. In another place, however, the Bishop says, the English, Armenian, and Greek Christians are not altogether more than sixty or eighty persons.—Vol. iii. p. 297.

Gothic English church, the clerk at which is a Greek. Of English, there are none, except a few indigo-planters in the neighbourhood, and those in the civil or military service. The Serampore Mission has, however, had a station here since 1816. The missionaries conduct religious services in English, Hindoostanee, and Bengalee, and with their preaching connect the superintendence of a large and interesting circle of schools. The trade of Dacca "is reduced to the sixtieth part of what it was." The cotton grown in this district is mostly sent to England raw, and English manufactures are preferred by the inhabitants themselves for their cheapness.*

Dacca is reckoned one of the healthiest stations in Bengal. The climate is mild, the heat being always tempered by the vast rivers flowing near it; and the rapidity of their current carries off the putrid matter brought down by the inundations, more rapidly than is ever the case in the Hooghly. As it enjoys a much more temperate summer than Calcutta, so it is not subject to the offensive fogs which attend the winter and rainy season at Chittagong.† It is sometimes visited with earthquakes. The river upon which it stands, has greatly altered its character since Major Rennell drew his map. It was then narrow, but is now, even during the dry season, not much less broad

* The striped and flowered muslins of Dacca were formerly regarded as inimitable. These delicate fabrics were in such estimation at the Mogul court and among the higher classes of India, as to render it difficult to supply the demand. The manufacture was hereditary in several families. Dimities, and cloths resembling diaper and damask-linen, were also made in this district.

† Dacca is not exempt, however, from the dire visitations of the scourge of India. More than 1500 persons were carried off by the cholera in the autumn of 1826. The city was quite deserted by the natives, and the courts were closed for between two and three months.

than the Hooghly at Calcutta. No vessels, however, larger than the small country-built brigs, ever come up this branch of the Ganges. During the rains, ships of moderate burden might reach Dacca, but it would be attended with some risk, and there are no sufficient inducements to incur it. Small European craft have been known to come as far as Luckipoor; the majority, however, prefer Chittagong, though even that harbour is little adapted for vessels of burden. During the late war with the Burmese, Dacca was thrown into great alarm, and not wholly without reason. "Had the Burmese really possessed any considerable force of war-boats in the neighbourhood of Teak Naaf," says the Bishop, "Dacca might easily have fallen their prey."

The inhabitants of this city have always been noted as a quiet orderly race, attached to the public functionaries set over them; and Bishop Heber bears testimony to the strong and growing disposition to learn the English language and to adopt the English customs. "In these waste bazars and sheds," he says, "where I should never have expected anything of the kind, the dressing-boxes, writing-cases, cutlery, chintzes, pistols and fowling-pieces, engravings, and other English goods, or imitations of English, which are seen, evince how fond of them the middling and humbler classes are becoming. Here, too, a knowledge of the Christian Scriptures (in spite of the Abbé Dubois *) is rapidly increasing. A Baptist missionary has established a circle of twenty-six day-schools, containing more than 1000 boys, who all read the

* "If Christian David" (a native pupil of the celebrated Swartz, and ordained by the Bishop) "is to be believed, and I believe him to be a very honest man, nothing can exceed Dubois's mendacity and ignorance even with regard to Malabar and Coromandel."—Heber, vol. iii. p. 290.

New Testament as their daily task without any objection being made." There is a singular sect of Hindoos here, styled *Suttya Gooroos*, who have renounced idols, and profess to approve of Christianity, of which, through the medium of their own language, they have acquired considerable knowledge: they have framed for themselves a system of doctrine of a strange and motley character.*

The Nawâb, though of course shorn of all political power, and not allowed the state palankeen, is permitted to keep a court with guards, is styled Highness, and has a pension of 10,000 S. rupees per month. He called upon the Bishop, accompanied by his eldest son. "He is a good-looking elderly man, of so fair a complexion as to prove the care with which the descendants of the Mussulman conquerors have kept up their northern blood. His hands, more particularly, are nearly as white as those of a European... He was dressed in plain white muslin, with a small gold tassel attached to his turban. His son had a turban of purple silk, ribbed with gold, with some jewels in it. Both had splendid diamond rings. He sat for a good while smoking his hookah, and conversing fluently enough in English, quoting some English books of history, and shewing himself tolerably well acquainted with the events of the Spanish war.† His son is a man of about thirty, of a darker complexion, and of education more neglected, being unable to converse in English. At length,

* Missionary Register, 1827, p. 62; 1828, p. 77.

† For these acquirements, his Highness was indebted to an imprisonment of some years at Calcutta, in consequence of his being concerned in the conspiracy of Vizir Ali. He must evidently have been a man of vigorous mind, superior to the prejudices of his countrymen. He writes, as well as speaks English, and "even fancies himself a critic in Shakspeare."

pawn and attar of roses were brought to me, and I rose to give them to the visiters. The Nawâb smiled and said, 'What! has your Lordship learned our customs?' Our guests then rose, and Mr. Master gave his arm to the Nawâb, to lead him down stairs. The stair-case was lined with attendants with silver sticks, and the horse-guards were round the carriage: this was evidently second-hand, having the arms of its former proprietor still on the pannel, and the whole show was any thing but splendid. The Company's sepoys were turned out to present arms, and the Nawâb's own followers raised a singular sort of acclamation as he got into his carriage, reckoning up the titles of his family, Lion of War! Prudent in Counsel! High and Mighty Prince! &c. &c. But the thing was done with little spirit, and more like the proclamations of a crier in an English court of justice, than a ceremony in which any person took an interest.

"In the afternoon (of the next day) I accompanied Mr. Master to pay a visit to the Nawâb, according to appointment. We drove a considerable way through the city, then along a shabby avenue of trees, intermingled with huts, then through an old brick gateway into a sort of wild-looking close, with a large tree and some bushes in the centre, and ruinous buildings all round. Here was a company of sepoys, drawn up to receive us, very neatly dressed and drilled, being in fact a detachment of the Company's local regiment, and assigned to the Nawâb as a guard of honour. In front was another and really handsome gateway, with an open gallery, where the '*nobut*,' or evening martial music, is performed; a mark of sovereign dignity to which the Nawâb never had a just claim, but in which Government continues to indulge him.

Here were the Nawâb's own guard, in their absurd coats and caps, and a crowd of folk with silver sticks, as well as two tonjons and chahtahs, to convey us across the inner court. This was a little larger than the small quadrangle at All Souls. surrounded with low and irregular, but not inelegant buildings, kept neatly, and all white-washed. On the right hand was a flight of steps, leading to a very handsome hall, an octagon, supported by Gothic arches, with a verandah round it, and with high Gothic windows well venetianed. The octagon was fitted up with a large round table covered with red cloth, mahogany drawing-room chairs, two large and handsome convex mirrors, which shewed the room and furniture to considerable advantage, two common pier-glasses, some prints of the King, the Emperor Alexander, Lords Wellesley and Hastings, and the Duke of Wellington, and two very good portraits, by Chinnery, of the Nawâb himself, and the late Nawâb, his brother. Nothing was gaudy, but all extremely respectable and noblemanly. The Nawâb, his son, his English secretary, and the Greek priest whom he had mentioned to me, received us at the door, and he led me by the hand to the upper end of the table. We sate some time, during which the conversation was kept up better than I expected; and I left the palace a good deal impressed with the good sense, information, and pleasing manners of our host, whose residence considerably surpassed my expectations, and whose court had nothing paltry, except his horse-guards and carriage." *

On the Sunday following, the Bishop consecrated the church, and, in the evening, the burial-ground; "a wild and dismal place, surrounded with a high

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 195—7.

wall, with an old Moorish gateway, at the distance of about a mile from the now inhabited part of the city, but surrounded with a wilderness of ruins and jungle. It is, however, large and well adapted for its purpose, containing but few tombs, and those mostly of old dates, erected during the days of Dacca's commercial prosperity, and while the number of European residents was more considerable than it is at present. One was pointed out to me, over the remains of a Mr. Paget, chaplain to the Company in July 1724. I then little thought or feared how strangely the centenary anniversary of his interment would be kept up! * Some of the tombs are very handsome. One more particularly, resembling the buildings raised over the graves of Mussulman saints, has a high octagon Gothic tower, with a cupola in the same style, and eight windows with elaborate tracery. Within, are three slabs over as many bodies; and the old *Durwan* of the burial-ground said, it was the tomb of a certain '*Columbo Sahib, Company ka nuokur*'— Mr. Columbo, servant to the Company. Who he can have been, I know not; his name does not sound like an Englishman's; but, as there is no inscription, the beadle's word is the only accessible authority. Another tomb is over a Chinese convert to Christianity and Protestantism, who seems to have resided here about a hundred years ago. The remainder are of various, but not very remote date, in the usual Anglo-Indian style of obelisk or pyramid, but all overgrown with ivy and the destructive peepul-tree. Some fine elephants, with their *mohouts*, were browzing on the trees and bushes round the wall and amid the neighbouring ruins. Indian cattle occupied the little grassy

* Alluding to the burial of the Bishop's domestic chaplain, Mr. Stowe, who died at Dacca.

glades which intersected what would else have been a trackless forest; and the whole had so wild and characteristic an appearance, that I regretted that I had no time to make a drawing." *

Another evening, the Bishop made an excursion in a boat to the *pagla pwll* (mad bridge), a ruin four miles below Dacca. "It is a very beautiful specimen of the richest Tudor Gothic; but I know not whether it is strictly to be called an Asiatic building, for the boatmen said, the tradition is, that it was built by a Frenchman." †

From Dacca, the Bishop did not take the direct northern course by the great *jeels*, but (anxious to meet the sister of his deceased chaplain, who had set out to join him) sailed eastward across the Delaserry river and a wide tract of flooded country, which presented a strange and dreary spectacle. The wretched villages were huddled together on little mounds raised just above the level of the inundation, while all the rest was covered with five or six feet of water. Having passed them all, he entered a "sea of reeds," a vast *jeel* or marsh, having at this time depth of water sufficient for a large vessel, although the rushes rose above the surface, and the boat rushed briskly through them, "rustling like a greyhound in a field of corn." A succession of woods and villages next occurred, till he halted for the night at a very pleasant spot near a village called Nawab-gunge. On the third day, he regained the great Ganges (Pudda), and reached Furreedpoor, where he halted for some days, waiting intelligence from Calcutta. At length, he resolved to proceed on his voyage to the Upper

* Heber, vol. i. p. 198—200.

† An accurate engraving of it is given in Sir Charles D'Oyley's Ruins of Dacca."

Provinces. Retracing his course to Jaffiergunge and the mouth of the Commercolly, he now ascended the Ganges to Surdah, which stands on the river that forms the usual route from Dacca to the Upper Provinces. Here the Company have a silk-manufactory. The next day, he reached Bogwangola, "a thorough Hindoo village," consisting, for the most part, of mere sheds or booths for the accommodation of the *gomastahs* (agents) who come here to the great corn fairs. "They are scattered very prettily over a large green common, fenced off from the river by a high grassy mound, which forms an excellent dry walk, bordered with mango-trees, bamboos, date-palms, and some fine banyans. The common was covered with children and cattle; a considerable number of boats were on the beach; different musical instruments were strumming, thumping, squealing, and rattling from some of the open sheds; and the whole place exhibited a cheerfulness, and, though it was not the time of the fair, an activity and bustle which were extremely interesting and pleasing. The houses were most of them very small but neat, with their walls of mats, which, when new, always look well. One, which was of more solid construction than thé rest, had a slip of garden surrounding it, filled with flowering shrubs, and enclosed with a very neat bamboo railing. Others were open all round; and there, two parties of the fakeer musicians whose strains I had heard, were playing; while, in a house near one of them, were some females whose gaudy dress and forward manner seemed pretty clearly to mark their profession as the nauch-girls of the place.... Bogwangola has been, several times within these few years, removed to different situations, in consequence of the havoc made by the Ganges. It has, therefore,

no ancient building, and neither pagoda nor mosque: indeed, it has the appearance of an encampment, rather than a town." *

From this place the Bishop proceeded, by towing, to one of the channels leading by Sooty from the main Ganges into the Moorshedabad river. Here he was in the great road from Calcutta northwards, where, for the present, we must leave him, in order to trace the course of the Bhagirattee or Cossimbazar river up to this point.

BURHAMPOOR.

THE first place of any note in ascending the Cossimbazar stream from its junction with the Jellinghy, (which forms the Hooghly,) is Burhampore, one of the six great military stations in these provinces, situated on the eastern bank, in lat. 24° 3'; long. 89° 14'. The cantonments are a fine range of buildings on one side of an open lawn, round which are situated the houses of different Europeans. "The British," remarks Lord Valentia, "who, from official or commercial concerns, are attached to the great cities of India, have generally fixed on a spot at a little distance, where they have constructed modern residences, free from the stench and confinement of Asiatic narrow streets." There might seem to be other reasons for not adopting as military stations the great cities. Burhampoor is only five miles from Moorshedabad, the seat of government under the Bengal Nabobs, usually called the City; and four miles from the great trading town of Cossimbazar, which may be considered

* Heber, vol. i. p. 239. The line of river coast between Surdah and Bogwangola, "differs greatly from Rennell; but the changes which the river is making on this shore, are obviously such as to account for very considerable discrepancies."

as the port of the Mohammedan capital. Lord Valentia proceeded to Burhampoor from Chinsurah in a palankeen,* the bearers being relieved every stage of ten miles. He arrived at the banks of the Cossimbazar river about eight miles above the junction, where, at that time (Feb. 22), it was but a very trifling stream; † the great height of the banks shewed, however, how different must be its state in the rainy season. His next stage beyond Ahgadeep, was the magnificent *tope* (grove) of Plassey, celebrated in the annals of British India for the victory gained by Lord Clive, which rendered the British masters of Bengal. The field of battle "is fast disappearing, and will, in a few years more, be entirely washed away." ‡ As Lord Valentia travelled chiefly by night, enclosed within his palankeen, he could not make many observations upon the country. He found Burhampoor thirty-six miles from the river which he passed in the morning. The island of Cossimbazar is one flat bed of sand, which owes its fertility to the deposite of the annual inundation. His Lordship observed excellent crops of wheat and barley, and occasionally indigo-plantations. The paddy-fields were bare, which gave a disagreeable effect to the scene. The mango-groves § and palm-trees were ob-

* There are two roads to Benares; "one new, carried over the mountainous and wild parts of Bahar, but 200 miles nearer than the old, which led through the populous cities of Bengal." His Lordship preferred the latter: had he taken the new road, he must have proceeded day and night, halting only three times. For each palankeen were required eight bearers, which formed a complete change; there were also three *mussal* or link-boys, and three men to carry luggage.

† "From October to May, the Bhagirathi is almost dry, when much of the traffic is conducted at Bogwangola." Hamilton, vol. i. p. 163.

‡ Sketches of India, p. 137.

§ The mango is "a magnificent tree, in habit much resembling

served, as in the former parts of the road; but the coco-nut is scarce, and seemed to bear but little fruit. The villages were composed of miserable mud cottages; but their rapid succession and numerous inhabitants conveyed a high idea of the general populousness of the country. The island was formerly full of tigers, leopards, and wild-boars; but the increase of population and the rewards offered by Government, have led to their complete extermination, and the jackal and the fox are the only wild animals now left. About a mile to the north of the town of Cossimbazar, on the left bank of the river, is the city of

MOORSHEDABAD.

One of the first objects which strike you on approaching it, is a lofty and noble-looking, though disproportioned building with massive columns, designed by the British Government as a palace for the Nabob; but he occupied (in 1819) a large brick hospital-like house on the right bank, also built for him, on which bank are several native houses also.* We are indebted for a spirited description of this Mohammedan capital, to the Author of Sketches of India. He had heard, he says, so poor an account of it, that he was agreeably surprised.

"A few domes and minarets, and, all along the bank, a number of houses, built of brick or chunamed, with terraces, small verandahs, flat roofs, and painted doors and windows, do, in spite of the mean huts of mud and bamboo, which may be here and there seen

the Spanish chestnut, and fully equal in size." The blossom is very fragrant. They are planted in formal squares called *topes*.—Valentia, vol. i. p. 46.

* Here was once a town called Mahinagar. Bernoulli, vol. i. p. 451.

crowded behind them, give the city, to my eye, a very pleasing appearance. On these terraces, and in these verandahs, you may see the respectable-looking owners in their Moorish dresses, smoking their hookahs, playing chess, or walking sedately in small parties. In the evenings, several of them go upon the water, in boats kept for pleasure, called snake-boats, from their length and their quick darting motion. They are very narrow, and have large crews, who use short, broad paddles, with which they strike the water in a quick-measured cadence, which tells loudly as it falls on the boat's gunwale. Here the owners are seated on cloths or carpets, with, or often without awnings; have their hookahs and sherbet; a musician or two, or a story-teller; and the crews too sing accustomed airs with a wild chorus, led by their coxswain, who stands at the very stern, in a bold, graceful attitude, as their boat darts on the bosom of the stream with fearful velocity.

"I walked to look at the *Mootie Jeel*, or pearl lake,* on which once stood the superb palace of pleasure, built in the day of his pride by Aliverdy Khan. The gateway by which you enter the grounds, is half decayed, and would doubtless have disappeared altogether, but for a mosque within, venerated, handsome, and of fine stone, which the zealous frequenters contrive with ingenious tastefulness to conceal with thick layers of white-wash. What were the gardens, are now naked fields. On the further sides of the lake, which surrounds with two broad arms this peninsulated spot, there is a fringe of wood. Of the palace which stood close to the water, at the extreme point of the gardens, there is only one fragment, but it is a noble

* The *Mooty Jeel* is one of the windings of a former channel of the Cossimbazar river.

one, and a fitting memorial of it, being a ruin of four arches supported by five columns, the whole of the most beautiful black polished marble, taken from an ancient and princely edifice among the ruins of ancient Gour, to adorn, survive, and be the only memorials of a second. While I stood near them, ten or eleven elephants, belonging to the present Nawab, were brought down by their keepers, to water in the lake just opposite. They looked in poor condition, but yet stepped with that slow air of pride, which spoke of other days, and seemed in character with the scene. At night, there was a good deal of noise and rejoicing in different quarters of the town, it being a festival with the Hindoos. Though Moorshedabad is a Mahometan city, still, the idle of all sects join in a festival. Even my poor boatmen, who were all Moors, had donned their holiday scull-caps, trimmed with copper-lace, changed their loin-cloths, and hurried off to some childish puppet-show or cheap debauch.

"In the morning, I walked into the city, and took my stand in an irregular-shaped open space, from which branch out five streets with gateways. In this place are the great mosque, *NobutKhana*, old hall for *durbar*, and one or two other public buildings. Hither had some of my countrymen, after the sad affair of the Black Hole, been dragged in chains; here had they made the low *salaam*, spoken the usual benediction, and petitioned for their lives and liberties, from a Nawab of Moorshedabad; and a twelvemonth after that period, Clive had entered it, a conqueror, and from the head of a small firm band of Europeans, had looked round upon the multitudes who crowded with astonishment to gaze on them, with a half anxious and doubtful joy as to the fulness of his success. Here and there, a glance of the dark eye and the haughtily

smoothed moustachio, conveyed to me the smothered curse of some descendants from the nobles of that day, as they passed near me.'" *

Moorshedabad was originally called Muksoodabad; but, in 1704, when Moorshed Kooly Khan (Jaffier) transferred the seat of government to this place, he gave it its present name. The city extends about eight miles along the river. It is reputed very unhealthy, owing to the neglected state of the sewers, the closeness and narrowness of the streets, and the thick jungle intermixed with the huts and houses, which is yearly increasing, and threatens to absorb the whole. In 1813, the canal was opened between the Bhagirathi and the Puddah, which, independently of the commercial benefits derived from it, was supposed to have improved the salubrity of the air, the unwholesomeness being ascribed to the stagnation of the waters of the Bhagirathi during the dry season. In 1814, however, disease raged here with peculiar virulence; and the decay of the city tends to increase the evil. In 1801, the inhabitants of the Moorshedabad district were estimated at 1,020,752, in the proportion of one Mohammedan to two Hindoos; and the city was supposed to contain about 35,000 souls.† Since then, the population has been on the decline.

* Sketches of India, pp. 138—142.

† Hamilton, vol. i. p. 161. The authority is not given. According to the returns made to the Governor-General's inquiries, in 1801-2, Moorshedabad city contained only 35,000 souls; the district, 650,000; total 685,000. The population of the whole Moorshedabad division, including Rajshahy, Baugulpoor, Dinajepoor, Purneah, and Rungpoor, is stated at 5,995,340. See Brewster's Encyclopædia, art. India. The uncertainty of these estimates may be judged of from the circumstance, that Rungpoor, to which is assigned a population of a million, is computed by Dr. F. Buchanan to contain no fewer than 2,735,000 souls, of whom above half are Moslems. See Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 207.

Moorshedabad is about 120 miles above Calcutta, in lat. 24° 11′ N.; long. 88° 15′ E.

The neighbourhood of this city is the chief seat of the manufacture of taffetas and other silks. The largest establishment of the Company's is at Jungypoor, distant seventeen miles N. by W.* Another station is at Mauldah, in the Dinajepoor district, above seventy miles N. of Moorshedabad; situated on the Mahananda, which divides it from the district of Purneah. This town contains, independently of the suburb of Nawab-gunje, about 3000 houses, of which seven-eighths are said to be built with brick and stones from the ruins of Gour, a few miles to the south. For a picturesque description of the site of this celebrated capital, we again avail ourselves of the florid page of the last-cited amusing writer.

GOUR.

"FROM the Cossimbuzar river-head, you launch forth into a channel nearly four miles in width, with waters rough and rising into waves....I sailed across it to the left bank, and moored in the narrow little creek at Pookarya. Hence, in the morning, I proceeded up a small stream, communicating at that season with the site of ancient Gour, and moored for two days there.

"Seven hundred and thirty years before Christ, Gour was the capital of Bengal, or Gaura, as the country was then called.† The extent of its ruins is

* The first attempt at establishing a silk-manufactory was at Budge-budge, in 1773, which did not succeed. That at Jungypoor employed, in 1802, about 3000 people. The other stations were Cossimbazar, Mauldah, Bauleah, Commercolly, Radnagore, and Rungpore.—Valentia, vol. i. p. 51.

† According to Dow. It is supposed to be the *Gangia regia* of

nearly fifteen miles in length by three in breadth; or rather, I should say, the extent of that space on which ruins may yet be discovered, and the whole of which was once covered with buildings and crowded with inhabitants. But where, you ask, are these ruins? as, toiling through bush and long grass, now crossing a field which some *ryot* has farmed, now wading through pools of water, or ferrying across them, you make your way from point to point, and find only the ruins of seven or eight mosques, the half-broken-down walls of a large Moorish fortress, and two strikingly grand and lofty gates of a citadel, evidently built by Ma-

Ptolemy. It was repaired and beautified by Akbar, A.D. 1575, who gave it the name of Jennutabad, under which name it is thus mentioned by Abul Fazel. "Jennutabad is a very ancient city, and was once the capital of Bengal. Formerly it was called Lucknowty *(Lukshma-vutee)*, and sometimes Goùr. The name it now bears, was given by the late emperor. Here is a fine fort, to the eastward of which is a large lake called Chutteah-puttea, in which are many islands. If the dams break during the heavy periodical rains, the city is laid under water. To the northward of this fort, at the distance of a *coss*, is a large building of great antiquity, where there is a reservoir of water, called *Peazbarry*, which is of very noxious property. It was usual, when a criminal was capitally condemned, to confine him in this building, where, being allowed no other drink than this water, he expired in a very short time. But his majesty has ordered this punishment to be discontinued." *Ayeen Akberry*, vol. ii. p. 8. According to Ferishta, the unwholesomeness of the air occasioned the desertion of Gour, on which the seat of government was removed to Tânda or Tanra, a few miles higher up the river. This was in the reign of Solimaun Shah, of the Shere dynasty, A.D. 1564. Major Rennell was told by the natives, that it was deserted in consequence of a pestilence. The origin of the decline of Gour, however, was the change in the course of the Ganges, which formerly washed its walls. Two hundred years ago, the river, which had been gradually changing its bed, totally quitted the old channel for that which it at present occupies; and the governors of Bahar and Bengal deserted it for other residencies. No part of the ancient site of Gour is nearer to the present bed of the Ganges, than four miles and a half; and some parts, originally washed by it, are now twelve miles distant.

hometans; where are the traces of that city, the date of whose most flourishing existence can be followed back to a period of time so awfully remote?—a period thirteen centuries before the birth of the prophet Mahomet! Why here; enter this ruined mosque; look at this block of marble, so beautifully wrought; observe the Arabic characters so fairly sculptured on it. Now pass to the other side. You will see the Sungskrita inscription originally cut upon it, ere the pagoda it long adorned was overthrown, to furnish materials for the erection of this mosque, styled by distinction, The Golden. The remains of it are, indeed, very noble. It is faced throughout with the most precious black marble. Many, however, of the inferior mosques are, upon the whole, in higher preservation; their domes still perfect and lined within by tiles painted of the most vivid colours, highly glazed, and probably as bright as the day they were laid on. One of the smallest of these mosques has a tessellated pavement of great beauty. The gates of the citadel are very grand; one especially is of a loftiness and span which forcibly recall the days of Humayoon and Akbar; as does yet more powerfully an imperial *minar*, the giant top of which has fallen in shattered fragments at its feet. This proud monument stands in the very centre of these ruins; and from its dizzy and tottering head, your eye may command the whole of that desolate tract which the city once covered. The processions, the Moorish squadrons, with their crowded spears and glittering sabres, the howdahed elephants, matchlock-men in groupes over the gateways and on the city walls, and a turbaned throng covering the space below, rise and show you Jennetabad in the sixteenth century. The ruins of this city, and of Gour also, have furnished materials, both for

building and ornament, to Moorshedabad, Maldah, Rajemahl, Dacca, and many other places during the last century, and at different periods long before. With something like a feeling of disappointment that the traces of Gour should be so few, you would leave the spot, your eye yet lingering in its gaze, till the red soil adhering to your foot seems to exclaim, You are treading on the ruins of Gour. This soil is formed of bricks, now mouldered or crumbling beneath your tread, but fashioned by the hand of man long ages ago. Here, in the dust, lie the temples, the palaces, the dwellings of the city whose memorial you seek.

"I walked slowly towards my boat. It was late; and from the ruins of a mosque and wall near some large tamarind-trees, I saw, springing with many a fantastic bound and gesture, several of those large-sized sacred monkeys: they fittingly represented satyrs dancing in wild mockery on this desolate spot. A marble tomb near me reminded me of the days of Akbar. Could I have broken the slumbers of its tenant, how had he grieved and wondered! Before him, Jennetabad in ruins; and beyond, no sign of camps or arms, war-horses, or Moorish standards. And yet, how strange to think, that, could you raise at your bidding an inhabitant of Gour, who perished two thousand years before, and place him where those trees might be supposed to shelter and to shade yon small ghaut, and shew him that groupe of Brahmins, with their brazen vessels and flowers, performing their ablutions in the stream, he would not fancy more than one night dreamed away, and bathing himself, would prepare to re-enter the city in their company. So that, after all, we have ruins of Gour more striking to the mind than the half-standing columns of Babylon, or the more perfect temples of Egyptian Thebes. We

have the helpless, blind, and feeble posterity of an erring and fallen race, clinging to the gods of their fathers, with a pertinacity at once to be admired and pitied." *

The late Mr. H. Creighton, an accomplished Bengalee scholar, resided for upwards of twenty-six years at Goamaltee, within a few yards (as after the maturest investigation he believed) of the site of the northern gate of Gour. He devoted much time to the examination of its majestic ruins, when they were in a far higher state of preservation than they are at present: of some of these, he took views, and he drew up a plan of the city and its suburbs. It was his opinion, that the city itself extended from N. to S. little less than seven miles; the northern gate being at Goamaltee, while the southern is still in existence at Kutwalee. The suburbs extended much further, there being sufficient vestiges of them to be traced to the distance of at least three miles beyond each of these gates; so that Major Rennell's conclusion seems quite within the bounds of probability, that it extended not less than fifteen miles along the banks of the Ganges. In breadth it appears to have been, in general, about two miles, in no part exceeding three. Exclusive of the suburbs, the city must have covered an area of full seventeen square miles; and, with the suburbs, supposing them to have extended only a mile east and west, a space of nearly sixty square miles; whereas Calcutta, with its suburbs, can scarcely be computed at more than fifteen. Taking the population of Calcutta at only half a million, Gour, if equally populous, must have contained two millions. At all events, the number of its inhabitants must be supposed to have

* Sketches of India, pp. 145—151.

exceeded the population of any capital now existing; unless it be Peking.*

"In the midst of this city stood a fort nearly square, extending about a mile on every side. The ruins of this fort at the present moment, sufficiently mark both its site and its extent. The ramparts now remaining are, in some places, full sixty feet high, and have widely branching trees growing on the very summit of them. Within this fort, there is a wall now standing, nearly a quarter of a mile in extent, and in some places between seventy and eighty feet in height. Opinion is divided respecting this building, whether it inclosed a Hindoo temple or a royal palace. The latter opinion, however, seems by far the more probable; for, not to say that all the other ruins in any degree of preservation are evidently of Mussulman origin, the length and height of this wall almost preclude the idea of its being the inclosure of a Hindoo temple." Of the ruins which are still sufficiently entire for inspection, the following more minute account will doubtless be acceptable to our readers. It is given in the words of the gentleman who visited them.†

"We proceeded first to what is termed by the natives *the great Golden Mosque*, where we arrived about eleven. This noble building appears to have

* The wall of Peking is said to be six leagues in compass; but a large part of the area is occupied with the imperial palace and park, the palaces of the nobles, temples, cemeteries, fields, gardens, and lakes. Malte Brun is disposed to estimate the inhabitants at only between 6 and 700,000, Other authorities rate the population of the Chinese capital with its suburbs at two millions. See Mod. Trav. Persia, &c. ii. 332. After the survey of these capitals, there is nothing that exceeds credibility in the measurement assigned to Babylon by Diodorus Siculus, of 360 *stadia*, which Sir W. Drummond supposes to be equal to about 30 English miles.

† See Friend of India, No. viii. (first Series).

stood nearly in the centre of this ancient capital. It was built of brick; but it was ornamented on the outside with a kind of black porphyry, which almost covered the walls, of which only a small part now remains; this, with other ruins, having for ages formed the quarry whence every one near, who wished marble for a floor, a chimney-piece, &c. has furnished himself *ad libitum*. Even the Cathedral Church of Calcutta was, at its erection, indebted to these venerable ruins, which have also originated many of the monuments in the cemeteries at Calcutta. The walls of the building are now stripped of their stone covering in many places, but the building itself seems equally firm, the stone covering appearing to have been wholly ornamental. This Mosque appears to have been surrounded with a wall, which, on the east side of the building, formed a court, about 300 feet in length, and 250 in breadth. The Mosque itself was 170 feet in length from north to south, and 130 in breadth. These dimensions are easily ascertained, as the north and south doors of the mosque, which mark its length, remain entire; and the breadth may be computed from the one range and the ruins of the rest, which yet remain. Its height within, is about sixty feet; but it is probable that the spires of its lofty domes rose to the height of a hundred feet from the ground.

"Its internal structure presents a singular appearance. It evidently contained no one space of even fifteen feet square: its breadth is divided into six ranges, somewhat resembling the aisles of an ancient church in England of Gothic structure. These aisles are in breadth twelve feet; and as they extend the whole length of the building, from north to south, they are somewhat better than 150 feet in length. The six walls which once divided them and supported

the roof, were eight feet in thickness, being built of brick and covered with black porphyry to a considerable height. These ranges or aisles were not, however, formed of solid masonry; each of them was intersected by eleven openings from east to west, of somewhat more than six feet in breadth. This in reality divided the wall which supports the roof of each range, into twelve massy columns of eight feet square; so that the whole building contained seventy-two of these columns, eight feet both in length and breadth; of which the six outer ones on the two sides north and south, adhering to the outside wall, left sixty within to support the roof. These rows of columns closed over each aisle, and thus formed six semi-circular roofs, covering and extending the whole length of each aisle. It was, however, only that part furnished by each column, which formed the arches of these six semi-circular roofs; the eleven spaces which intersect each range, were formed above into domes, about eleven feet in diameter within, and terminating in a point without. Thus, the roof, when entire, rose in sixty lofty spires, ten standing in each row from north to south; which, if gilt and ornamented as they are in other Mussulman capitals, like those at Moorshedabad for instance, must have presented a most superb spectacle in the midst of this capital. Of these six ranges or aisles, only one (that on the east side) is now entire, although traces of the other five are still visible. Of the domes in this range, the roofs of five are entire; those of two more are merely open at the top; in three more the roof is entirely fallen in; and that on the rest, being half fallen, seems to menace the spectator with instant destruction, should any part of the mouldering ruin fall while he is walking underneath. The outward walls are nine feet in thickness;

they are built with small bricks extremely hard, and with excellent cement. The whole building seems to have suffered far less from depredation, than from the numerous shrubs and trees which grow upon it, and which, insinuating their roots into the breaches of the walls, threaten the whole with unavoidable and speedy dissolution.

"Having gratified ourselves with a view of this Mosque, we proceeded to the Obelisk. This is about a mile distant from the Mosque, in the road which leads to the south gate, and is supposed to have been erected for the sake of calling the inhabitants to the regular performance of their daily devotions. It stands alone, completely separate from any other building. There being a stair-case within, we felt a wish to ascend to the summit; but this, as it contains four stories, (marked by as many windows placed over each other in a perpendicular line,) the ladies could not venture to attempt. Having procured from the neighbouring peasants, however, the means of gaining the first story, about twelve feet from the ground, four of the company ascended to the top, which is now completely open: it contains six windows, formerly surmounted with a dome, which has completely disappeared. From these six windows, the view we had of the country on every side, was such as fully repaid the labour and risk of ascending.

"Wishing to ascertain the actual height of this obelisk, we procured a small cord from the labourers near, and fastening a broken brick thereto, suspended it from the uppermost window; by which means we found that the height of the upper story from the ground was seventy-one feet. When to this we add the height of the cupola, &c. it seems probable that a hundred feet was the original height of the

building. We also measured the diameter of the area in the upper story, and found it precisely ten feet. As the extreme diameter at bottom was only twenty-one feet, if we reckon the thickness of the two walls at about three and a half, the extreme diameter of the upper story will be seventeen feet; so that, in a height of seventy feet, its diameter had lessened little more than three feet: a circumstance that reflects the highest credit both on the architect and the materials of the building, when we consider that it has resisted the strongest hurricanes for so many hundred years. The steps of the staircase which remain entire, are about fifty; but in many instances, the intermediate ones are worn away. The windows are formed of black porphyry, which appears to have been intended for support as well as ornament. The stones, about two feet in length, one in breadth, and nearly a foot in thickness, support each other by means of tenons formed in the stone itself; and they in several instances stand firm, although the brick-work has fallen from them; while they are really firm, however, they assume so threatening an aspect from their appearing loose, that the visiter is almost afraid of being crushed beneath them.

"Proceeding southward, about half a mile beyond the Obelisk, we came to a building designated by the natives as the *Nutti Musjeed*, and by some Europeans termed the China Mosque, from the bricks of which it is built being ornamented with various colours. This building, however, has nothing of the mosque beyond some little resemblance in its external appearance; nor is there any thing within it, corresponding to the internal appearance of the great Golden Mosque: it seems evidently intended for purposes of amusement. It is the most entire of any structure

now remaining. Its extreme length from east to west is about seventy-two feet, its breadth about fifty-four, and its height about seventy. The outer walls, though nine feet in thickness, are formed of bricks extremely small, not exceeding four inches in length, three in breadth, and an inch and a half in thickness; but these bricks are so well made, and the cement is so firm, that the building has almost the solidity of stone. The surface of these bricks is painted yellow, white, green, and blue, in alternate succession; and the whole appears to have been finished with a neatness approaching to finery. The east, the north, and the south sides, have three doors, forming nine in the whole; on the west side it is closed. The arch of the middle door on each side is about eleven feet in height; the other two about nine feet high. The breadth is somewhat above six feet. On entering the east door, a partition wall presents itself, forming a space twelve feet in extent, and the whole breadth of the building. This marks the east as having been the front entrance, as this formed a kind of porch to the vestibule, in which probably servants remained. The space within these, forms a beautiful room about thirty-six feet square, the four walls closing above and forming a majestic dome, which, when illuminated, must have had a most pleasing appearance. The height of this spacious room we had no means of ascertaining exactly, but, from its appearance, it may be from forty to fifty feet. The buildihg is so entire, that this room might now with ease be converted into a hall for the administration of justice, or for Divine worship. So spacious and lofty a room without a pillar, beam, or rafter, none of us had ever seen; and when the antiquity of the building, the smallness of the bricks which compose it, and its present high state of preservation are con-

sidered, it seems evident that the art of building, as far as durability is concerned, was far better understood in Bengal formerly, than is indicated now by any modern edifice in the metropolis of India. Are European science and skill completely distanced by the former knowledge of a nation we are ready to deem only half civilized?

"Four of us now ascended the elephant, and proceeded to the South Gate, which formed the southern boundary of the city, and the arch of which still remains. This gate has a majestic appearance. The arch of it is thirty feet wide. It does not at present, however, surmount the whole of the gateway: on the top, it covers scarcely a third of that space, and even that part of the arch which now remains, is in a tottering state. On each side is a piece of masonry sixty feet square, and in height nearly equal to the outside of the arch surmounting the gateway, which is somewhat better than sixty feet. There is an ascent on the west side, and a path worn, through which it is easy to ascend to the top of the gateway: some of us went as far as its ruinous state would permit, and enjoyed thence a fine view of the country round. The masonry is united, both on the east and the west side, to a rampart of earth, which also rises to the height of sixty feet, and is covered with trees of various kinds. This rampart, however, would have formed but a feeble defence against an army of Europeans, whatever it might be esteemed against an Indian army.

"In our return, we went a little to the westward, to get a view of the Fort. In our way, we passed over a bridge, which appeared perfectly firm, though full a hundred feet in length. On how many arches it rests, we were unable to ascertain, as the small rivulet over which it was erected, is nearly dried up, and the

place is overgrown with shrubs and bushes; but its being in so high a state of preservation, when it can have undergone no repairs for at least the last hundred years, evidently indicates the superior nature of its materials and workmanship. Advancing further, we passed by another mosque in pretty good preservation, but remarkable for nothing but a tradition yet current among the inhabitants around, that when it was built, a man was immured alive in the cupola for offering violence to some female, possibly one of the royal family. We entered the Fort on the east side, and took a slight view of the remaining wall, northward of what, as already mentioned, has by some been deemed an inclosure for a Hindoo temple, and by others, in our opinion with far greater propriety, the remains of a royal palace. The north-wall appears at a distance nearly a hundred feet high; for which we could assign no possible reason, if it were intended merely for an inclosure to a temple. Leaving on our left the tombs of the Mussulman sovereigns, we hastened, as our time was so far spent, to take a view of the north gate of the fort, which perhaps presents the handsomest appearance of any ruins now remaining. Its breadth on the outside is fifty-six feet, and its height, full sixty. Within, it consists of one long arch, somewhat more than sixty feet long, which formed the entrance; and of two side arches, which have the appearance of vaults from their gloominess. Each of these would have contained to advantage nearly three hundred men, who, from the three arched openings on each side, about six feet wide, might have dreadfully annoyed an enemy even after he had forced the gate; while, hidden by the three massy columns, eight feet square, completely covered above, and sheltered behind and at the sides by the wall which

divides the gateway from the rampart, and which, from its time-worn appearance, now almost resembles a rock, they could scarcely have been assailed in return. We ascended the west rampart here, and proceeded as far on the top of the gateway as appeared safe. This rampart, which is full as high as that which formerly surrounded the city, appears still better calculated for defence. It is sloping within, but without, it is perpendicular, and surrounded with a deep moat, at present filled with water, the alligators in which add nothing to the sense of security felt by the traveller who visits this once far-famed capital."*

We now rejoin Bishop Heber in his progress up the river. On approaching Rajmahal, a range of blue elevations is, for the first time, seen rising from the flat surface of the Bengal plains; an engaging sight after being so long accustomed to a level horizon. The river is here divided by a string of marshy islands. The country improves as the traveller advances, being prettily dotted with small woods, and cultivated chiefly with pulse; a crop which shews that he is leaving Bengal. It still continues, however, perfectly flat, "as if all had once been a bay of the sea, of which the hills in view were the termination."

Rajmahal, which Sultan Sujah made the capital of his viceroyalty in the middle of the seventeenth century, retains few traces of its former consequence.† A

* Bats and owls take refuge in the mouldering ruins, which are the haunt also of the wild beasts of the desert. The whole description strikingly corresponds to the prophetic denunciation respecting Babylon. "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures (marsh animals); and owls shall dwell there; and satyrs (apes) shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons (alligators) in their pleasant palaces."—Isa. xiii., 21, 2.

† "During the reign of Akbar, Rajah Mause Singh, on his

terrible fire burned the palace to the ground; and in the same year, the river carried away nearly the whole of the town. What remains, is only a street of mud cottages, with a few tombs and mosques, black, damp, and decaying, which afford shelter to poor travellers and mendicants. The ruins of a spacious palace, however, which the river is year by year breaking down, form a very picturesque object, whether viewed from the river, or in wandering through the silent and forsaken apartments, some of which are of marble. Rajmahal is 70 miles N. N. W. of Moorshedabad.

The country here is very pleasing. At Sicligully (*Sancri-guli*, the narrow pass), about eight miles further N. W., the traveller enters Bahar. "The spot is most beautiful. The river here makes a rapid turn to the S. E., after having for 300 miles been obliged to run nearly E., and gives an extensive view both upwards and downwards. The bank is well wooded, and the blue mountains at a distance serve to complete the landscape." A large waterfall is seen from a great distance, tumbling down the mountain in several cascades; that nearest the plain is of considerable height. Sicligully itself is a village of huts with a bungalow in ruins, and the ruinous barracks of the sepoy corps raised by Judge Cleveland from among the lawless inhabitants of the mountains. The bungalow is at the base of a high, rocky, insu-

return from the conquest of the Afghans of Orissa, fixed upon the city of Agmahal for the capital of Bengal, the name of which he changed to Rajamahal; but by the Mohammedans, it is occasionally designated by the name of Akbernagur. In 1608, the seat of government was removed from hence to Dacca, by Islam Khan; but in 1639, Sultan Sujah brought it back to Rajmahal."—Hamilton's Gazetteer.

lated eminence, surmounted with a Mohammedan tomb, the dome roof of which, though three hundred years old, remains entire. *

Peer Pointee, a detached hill which projects into the river, some miles higher up, takes its name from another Mussulman saint, whose tomb, resembling that at Sicligully, though less picturesquely situated, stands on a little cliff above the river, overhung with some fine bamboos. The rocks here are covered with representations, in rude relief, of Hindoo deities. Some vagabond fakeers dwell in a shed near them, who live by begging and exaction. Near Colgong, there are two or three small rocky islands in the middle of the stream, one of which contains the deserted hermitage of one of these devotees. At a place called *Puttur Gotta*, the limestone rock is pierced with caverns. To one of these, Bishop Heber scrambled up by a rugged path, and found a larger and finer cave than he had anticipated, picturesquely overhung with ivy and peepul-trees. The entrance is rude and large; the apartments within branch off two or three ways, and appeared by the imperfect light to bear marks of art. There is a sort of shallow cistern cut in the rock, "which seems very like a place for making chunam;"

* "The ancient honours of the lamp kept burning, &c. have long been discontinued; but I was told, that it was the general opinion, both of Mussulmans and Hindoos, that, every Thursday night, a tiger comes, couches close to the grave, and remains there till morning.…Either the tiger or some pious Mussulman keeps the tomb very clean; for both chamber and platform, I found well swept, and free from the dung of bats or any other animal; an attention which I have not seen paid to other ruins in this country." Heber, vol. i. p. 262. A similar superstition is attached to a holy spot between Kazeroon and Shiraz, where the shade of a lion is believed to do homage every Friday. See MOD. TRAV., Persia, vol. i. p. 330.

and the Bishop was led to suspect that the cave had been used as a quarry for limestone. "I was told," he adds, "that there were many other pretty religious places about the rock, to which I desired Mohammed to lead me. He took me round the base of the hill, and then shewed the way up a sort of ladder, half natural, of roots of trees and of rocks, half artificial, where the stone had been cut away into rude steps, to a small rocky platform, half way up the cliff, facing the river. There were some other small caves, evidently the works of art, with low doors, like ovens, and some rude carving over and round them. I crept into one, and found it a little hermitage about twelve feet wide by eight, having at each end a low stone couch, and, opposite the entrance, a sort of bracket, either for a lamp or an idol....I climbed from this place a few steps higher, to another and larger platform, with a low wall round it. Here I found two little temples to Siva and to Kali, kept by an old *gossain* (Hindoo hermit) with two disciples, one a grown man, the other a boy. The old man had long white hair and beard, and was sitting naked, with his hands joined and his eyes half shut, amid the breezes of the river. The boy was near him, and the man, on hearing our voices, had got up in a hurry, and began to murmur prayers, and pour water on the lingam. A small gratuity, however, brought him back to the civilities of this world; and he shewed me not only Siva's symbol, but Kali, with her black face, scull chaplet, and many hands. He also shewed me the remains of several other images, cut on the face of the rock, but which had been broken by the Mussulman conquerors. Under these last were two small holes like those below, which they told me were, in fact, their lodgings. I asked if they knew any thing about the cave on the

other side of the hill; on which the old gossain, with an air of much importance, said, that nobody had ever seen its end; that, 2000 years ago, a certain Raja had desired to explore it, and set out with 10,000 men, 100,000 torches, and 100,000 measures of oil, but that he could not succeed; and if I understood him rightly, neither he nor his army ever found their way back again! These interminable caves are of frequent occurrence among the common people of every country. But the centenary and millesimal way in which the Hindoos express themselves, puts all European exaggeration to the blush. Judging from the appearance of the cave, and the size of the hill which contains it, I have no doubt that a single candle, well managed, would more than light a man to its end and back again. A little beyond these temples, descending by a similar stair, is a small village, inhabited chiefly by religious beggars of the same description, and a very curious little hermitage or temple, built of brick, in the hollow of a huge decayed peepul-tree, in a beautifully romantic situation, where the Ganges runs roaring through the rocks with great noise and violence."*

The course which the Bishop was compelled to take, owing to the unfavourable wind, was, for the most part, not in the direct line of the Ganges, but through *jeels* and *nullahs*. He thus missed the pass of Terriagully (Telliaghurry), between Sicligully and Colgong, where the hills again descend in a rocky point to the river. Sultan Sujah built a fortress to defend the pass, of which there are still some remains.†

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 267, 8. Colonel Francklin informed the Bishop, that he had been to the end of the cave of Putturgotta, which had been used as a temple to Siva. It is pretty and very accessible, but by no means deep.—*Ib.* p. 283.

† "Sacrigali est le nom d'un village situé sur la rive citerieure,

The main bed of the river is rendered very dangerous in this part by sand-banks; and the hills, "however they may improve the prospect, are almost as difficult to pass (at some seasons) as the Cape of Good Hope itself;" so violent frequently are the gales in this "fresh-water sea," as Lord Valentia styles the Ganges, in this part. "Being confined on one side by rocks, it seems to spread itself so much the more proudly on the low grounds on the north-eastern bank." The Ganges abounds here with alligators; and Bishop Heber noticed an unusual number of *hurgilas* (the gigantic crane), and a great many vultures on the banks. Near Colgong, a *nullah* separates from the Ganges, which leads to Bhaugulpoor, where the Bishop arrived early on the 10th of August, the fourteenth day from his leaving Furreedpoor. The land route, after passing over the Telliaghurry hills, runs for about twenty miles over a plain covered with European grain and mango-plantations. A noble road nearly forty feet wide, has here been constructed by the Government, with good stone arches at proper distances to allow

Il a ce nom d'un passage étroit ou d'une gorge, qui se prolonge au Nord-ouest par l'espace d'une demi mille, entre deux collines couvertes d'arbustes et d'épinayes, depuis une porte en ruines jusqu'à un torrent dont la source est dans les montagnes voisines, et qui se jette dans le Gange. Cette gorge s'étend encore à un mille depuis le village jusqu'à un petit pont jeté sur le torrent. Une chaine de montagnes se présente à la droite de la gorge, à un demi-mille passant de distance. Talliaghar est un fort construit en quarré, muni de tours aux quatre angles, à 5 m. Est de Penti; et à 8 m. Ouest de Sacrigali. Le chemin ordinaire (par terre) est plus long, menant les voyageurs par les anfractuosités des montagnes. Ces gorges de Bengale ressemblent aux Caspiennes et à celle de la Cilicie." Bernoulli, tom. i. pp. 445, 6. Lord Valentia reached Telliaghurry in five hours from Sicligully. As he walked up the hill by a narrow winding road, he "passed the ruined gateway and fort." These gates of Bengal have ceased to be an important barrier.

the torrents to pass. It runs in a straight line, and reminded Lord Valentia of the works of the Romans.* The last ten miles lead over a country slightly undulating. As the traveller approaches Bhaugulpoor, the number of mosques, overtopped with lofty palms, and mingled with the pensile foliage of the tamarind-tree, give the town a very pleasing appearance.

BHAUGULPOOR,

Commonly written Boglipoor, is prettily situated, and is said to be one of the healthiest stations in India. It is, however, much infested by snakes, particularly the *cobra di capello*. A majority of the inhabitants (estimated at about 30,000) are Mohammedans, who have a college here, but it is in a state of decay. The Roman Catholics have also a small church; they are chiefly descendants of Portuguese and native converts. It is the residence of a British magistrate and a few civil servants of the Company, and contains a "very neat" gaol, with no fewer than six wards for the classification of the prisoners. There is here a school for the *Puharrees* or mountaineers, originally set on foot by Mr. Cleveland, and revived by Lord Hastings; and the Gospel Propagation Society have, since 1825, had a missionary stationed here, who, from December to March, resides in the mountains. About a mile from the town, on a green hill, is a monument, in the form of a Hindoo *mut*, erected to the memory of Mr. Cleveland, by the *aumlah* and *zemindars* of the jungleterry of Rajamahal. "The land with which it was en-

* Valentia, vol. i. p. 56. In this part, his Lordship noticed hundreds of nests of the *loxia*, which had built their secure abodes in a tamarind-tree overhanging a tank, and kept up an incessant chirping. For a description of this curious bird, see page 86 of our first volume.

dowed, is rented by Government; and the cutcherry, magistrate's house, circuit-house, &c. are built on it, the rent being duly appropriated to the repair of the building. As being raised to the memory of a Christian, this monument is called by the natives *Grigi* (Church); and they still meet once a year in considerable numbers, and have a handsome *poojah* in honour of his memory.* The school is adjoining to the lines, and occupies a large and neat bungalow, one room in which is the lodging of the schoolmaster; the other (when Bishop Heber visited it) was filled with Puharree sepoys and their sons, who are all taught to read, write, and cipher in the *Kythee* character." † The mount, which is partly artificial, commands a view of "most park-like grounds," with the blue mountains at a distance. Altogether, this is a very interesting spot; and India contains few monuments more honourable to the British name, than this simple

* In front of the Residency is a marble monument, erected by order of the Governor-General in council, to the memory of this excellent man, with the following inscription. "To the memory of Augustus Cleveland Esq., late Collector of the Districts of Bhaugulpore and Rajamahal; who, without bloodshed or the terror of authority, employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence, attempted and accomplished the entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the Jungleterry of Rajamahal, who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory incursions; inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life, and attached them to the British Government, by a conquest over their minds; the most permanent as the most rational dominion. The Governor-General and Council of Bengal, in honour of his character, and for an example to others, have ordered this monument to be erected. He departed this life on the 13th of January, 1784, aged 29." Valentia, vol. i. p. 57.

† Heber, vol. i. p. 271. The *Kythee* character, which is used by the lower classes in this district, differs from the *Devanagree* about as much as the written character of Western Europe does from its printed.

memorial, raised by the gratitude of the natives to their deceased benefactor.

About a mile N.W. of the town, Lord Valentia was much pleased with the sight of "two very singular round towers, much resembling those buildings in Ireland, which have hitherto puzzled the antiquaries of the sister kingdom, except that they are more ornamented. It is remarkable, that there is no tradition concerning them, nor are they held in any respect by the Hindoos of this district. The Rajah of Jyepoor considers them as holy, and has erected a small building to shelter the great number of his subjects who annually come to worship here." *

Bhaugulpoor is situated in lat. 25° 13′ N., long. 86° 58′ E.; 110 miles N.W. from Moorshedabad, 240 miles N. by W. from Calcutta, and two miles S. of the Ganges. "It stands nearly half-way between the Rajmahal and the Currukpoor hills, and commands a distant view of Mount Mandar; an insulated conical mountain, (apparently about as large as the Wrekin,) renowned as a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and as having been employed by the gods to churn the ocean with, in order to procure the *amreeta* or drink of immortality. The hills to the south of Boglipoor, beyond Mandar, towards Deoghur, are very wild, and now almost entirely uninhabited, but are full of vestiges,

* Valentia, vol. i. p. 59. "The vegetable productions are here the same," remarks the noble Traveller, "as I have observed the whole way from Calcutta. I never travelled so far (above 200 miles) without finding a very great change in this respect; yet, hitherto, even the herbaceous plants that grow wild, have been the same; chiefly *asclepias grandiflora* and *solanum ferox*. The *bixa orellana* is in great abundance in the plantations of different gentlemen. The Chinese fruits, *loquot* and *lochi*, were in great luxuriance, but not ripe."

not only of Brahminical but of Buddhist worship. The Rajmahal hills stand in a detached cluster, containing, perhaps, as much ground as Merionethshire and Carnarvonshire. They are bounded on all sides by a plain, or nearly plain country; after which, on the west, are the Currukpoor hills, and, on the south, the very impracticable districts of Birboom, Ramghur, &c." * The whole of these clusters, Hamilton says, belong, in the opinion of the natives, to the Vindhyan mountains, which extend westward through Allahabad and Malwah, and along the northern side of the Nerbuddah, almost to the western coast.

For any accurate knowledge of the topography of these districts, we are chiefly indebted to the enterprise and antiquarian zeal of Lieutenant-Colonel William Francklin, some time Regulating Officer of Bhaugulpoor and Tirhoot; who, in 1814, animated by a desire to establish his favourite hypothesis respecting the site of Palibothra, ascended the Chundun (which he supposes to be the *Erranoboas* of Arrian †) to its sources in the vicinity of Deoghur, and subsequently crossed the Currukpoor hills to Sooruj Ghurra on the Ganges.

FROM BHAUGULPOOR TO DEOGHUR.

THE Chundun river, which has not hitherto been deemed worthy of ranking among the rivers of Hindostan, discharges itself by three mouths. The principal branch, which takes the name of the Gogha, terminates in what is called the Gogha-nullah, to the

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 283, 4.

† Its ancient epithet, he interprets, *Errunbhoweh*, forest-born, or flowing through a forest. Colonel Wilford gives a different rendering of the appellative. See vol. i. p. 108.

east of Bhaugulpoor. The north-western branch, which has not so broad a channel, falls into the Ganges at Champanagur, three miles west of Bhaugulpoor. The third branch discharges itself near Muniapoor. The bed of the river, where it forks off, is 400 yards in breadth, "sufficiently attesting what it would be in the rainy season." Colonel Francklin, in November, found the channel dry. Clear and wholesome water was, however, procured by digging pits in the sand from one foot and a half to two feet in depth. Higher up, where it receives the Andra-nullah, the Chundun was found 660 yards in breadth. According to the information received from the natives, this river exhibits a striking peculiarity in its rise and fall. "When it rains on the hills to the south, near its source, the river suddenly begins to rise, and soon filling, rushes onward with inconceivable violence and rapidity, carrying every thing before it in its course, and frequently overflowing its banks on either side to a considerable extent; when, after discharging its waters into the Ganges at its different mouths of Gogha, Muniapoor, and Champanagur, it as suddenly subsides, and again becomes nearly dry, in which state it remains until the return of the rainy season." It flows, for the most part, in a southerly direction, through a thickly wooded country. The cultivation on each side of the river is now in a most flourishing state. "The attention paid by the inhabitants to the labours of agriculture, since this province was finally settled by the exertions of Mr. Cleveland and Colonel Browne, in 1778, has converted uncultivated and barren forests into a luxuriant garden, abounding in all sorts of grain of the best kind."

Having advanced up the course of the river to

Luknowandy Hât, about thirty-five miles S. of Bhaugulpoor (by the river), Colonel Francklin diverged to the eastward, and proceeded through a wooded tract to visit Mount Mandar (or Mandara), distant five miles.* This singular mount, the very rival of Mount Meru in every thing but its altitude,† deserves a particular description. From the Author's unembellished statement, it would appear to be one of the greatest natural curiosities in India. It is the more remarkable as being apparently a mass of granite, whereas the nearer hills are of limestone.

MOUNT MANDAR.

"The south side of this hill presents, on the approach to it, a singular appearance: it consists of a range of five distinct hills, rising one above the other, till they are terminated by the summit of Mandara, which is of an oval form, and very much resembles the *Gola* at Patna. The summit is surmounted with a stone *mut* or pagoda, called *Musooden Mut*; whither the idols that are seen in the plain below, at a *mut* of the same name, are carried at the annual *poojahs*,

* With these distances, as given by Colonel Francklin, we know not how to reconcile the statement at p. 68, that Mandara Hill is only twenty miles E. of S. from Bhaugulpoor.

† The fable respecting it, in the Mahabharat, assigns it an equal elevation. "There is also another mighty mountain, whose name is Mandar, and its rocky summits are like towering clouds. It is clothed in a net of the entangled tendrils of the twining creeper, and resoundeth with the harmony of various birds. Innumerable savage beasts infest its borders; and it is the respected haunt of *kennars*, *dews*, and *apsars*. It standeth 11,000 *yojan* above the earth, and 11,000 more below its surface." This is a fair specimen of the puerile exaggeration of Hindoo fable. The whole story of the churning with Mount Mandar for the *amreeta*, will be found in the notes to Southey's Kehama, vol. ii. p. 205.

(two in each year,) to be worshipped in the temple. At the south foot of the hill is a spacious *talow* (reservoir), called by the natives *Pouphur*, the descent to which is by a stone staircase of seven steps, each step being fourteen feet by one and a half. Near this flight of steps are great quantities of broken stones of different dimensions, mutilated idols, fragments of pillars, and other irregular masses. The circumference of the *talow* is four furlongs forty yards. Three sides of it are covered with trees and jungle; the fourth embraces the south-eastern base of the mountain, which is cut away in a sloping direction. A stone channel or water-course, formed from a natural fissure in the rock, runs from N.W. to S.E., along the centre of the hill, which it divides into two parts. The sides of this channel are very steep, and are formed of hard black rock, having a coal-like appearance, resembling the crater of a volcano. From this channel, in the rainy season, a torrent of water pours down, and is discharged into the tank in the plain below. It is called by the natives *Puttul-kunduru.** The mountain, though, in its general features, barren and rugged, is yet occasionally interspersed with trees and jungle, growing out of the fissures on its rocky base and sides. The ascent is by a winding road or staircase cut in the rock, with landing places

* The prime minister of King Nanda is stated to have thrown his master into a beautiful reservoir near a cave called *Patalcandra*, which Colonel Wilford interprets, "the passage leading into the infernal regions." Asiatic Researches, vol. v. p. 265. He afterwards tells us (p. 281), that *Patalcandra* signifies, in Sanscrit, the crater of a volcano; and he supposes the hills that enclose the glen in which is the *Mooti-jarna* or pearl-dropping spring, near Rajmahal, to be the identical reservoir. Colonel Francklin contends for the probability that this at Mount Mandar is the spot. No stress can be laid on the word, which seems to mean any conduit,

of rock at intervals. Near the first staircase is a small stone image of the bull *Nanda*, not badly executed: the head is broken. About three hundred yards from the foot of the hill is a heap of ruins, apparently the remains of a small temple. Adjoining to this, the second staircase, consisting of sixty-seven steps, continues the ascent. All these stairs are excavated from the rock, three feet seven inches by one foot eight inches. On the right hand of the second flight is a colossal figure of Maha Kali, cut in the rock: the goddess is bestriding a demon, whom she has subdued in combat; she is armed with a battle-axe in one hand, and a sword in the other, and has three faces and ten arms, with a *mala* or necklace of human skulls.

"A short distance from this place, continuing the ascent, you meet with a sight extremely beautiful: a natural cascade, issuing from the spring called *Seeta Koond*, flows over the black and rugged surface of the rock, and discharges itself into the *puttul-kunduru* or channel below, whence it is conveyed to the *talow* of Pouphur at the foot of the mountain. From this place, you ascend the third range of stairs, being a flight of thirty-nine steps; and presently after, the fourth, which has one hundred and one steps; and then, a fifth, of thirty-five steps; the whole forming as it were a magnificent natural ladder. In our road up, we observed many images and fragments of stone lying scattered on each side of the way; the latter appearing to be the remains of small temples to be visited by the pilgrims in progressive ascent to that on the summit.......After proceeding up a sixth range of stairs, eleven in number, on turning a corner to the N.W., you come to a beautiful enclosure of mango-trees, and behold the cistern called *Seeta Koond* (the well of Seeta); a square enclosure faced on three sides

with large stones, the scarp of the rock forming the fourth, and containing sweet and transparent water. This water, issuing from apertures in the rock, flows down the side of the mountain, and is finally discharged into the *talow* at the bottom. From the brightness of its appearance, it may well be called a *motee jhorna*, or pearl-dropping spring. Here, the scenery is romantic and picturesque, the green and flourishing trees forming a most remarkable contrast to the black and barren rock near which they grow.

"A short distance from *Seeta Koondu* is another well or cistern, called *Sunkur Koondu*, of a triangular shape, cut between two parts of the rock, which divides at this place. On the side of this cistern, is a figure of Sunkur cut in a rock. Close to it commences the seventh series of stairs, consisting of twenty-three steps; after passing which, you come to the cistern called *Lukshmun Koondu*, (the well of Lukshmun,) situated in a nook of the rock to the eastward. Beyond this, you are conducted by an ascent of thirty-seven steps, to the summit of the mountain and the *Musoodun Mut*, or temple, dedicated to Mahadeva. The *puttul-kunduru* runs along the north-western side of this temple, and preserves the same features as at the bottom of the mountain, *viz.* a deep rugged channel of coal-black rock, of volcanic appearance. Here, a magnificent prospect bursts upon the view. The whole range of hills in the Jungleterry, extending from S.E. to N.W., the Chundun river and its numerous arms or *nullahs*, and the dark, impervious forests stretching towards the south as far as the eye can reach, altogether form a picture that at once contributes to warm the imagination and to elevate the mind.

"Descending from the summit, we returned to

Sunkur Koondu, and thence proceeded to view some figures cut in the rock on the N.W. side of the hill. After descending a range of sixteen steps, we entered the rocky bed of a water-course extending along the side of the mountain, and presently reached an assemblage of projecting rocks that overhung us. In the centre of this assemblage was a huge and hideous figure, or rather its head only, for the body does not appear below the neck: it is of larger dimensions than life, cut out of the rock, which has been hollowed on both sides for the purpose, and a flight of stone steps leads up to it from the channel below. The native pundits who inhabit the mountain, as likewise some pundits whom we brought from the *Musoodun Mut* in the plain below, informed me that the figure was a demon, called in their Puranas Mudhoo Ruksha.* Near it is another large figure cut in the rock, called Vamun; it is connected with the fifth of Vishnoo's avatars.† Another figure, lower down the rock, is called Narasingha. ‡ About twenty yards eastward of Mudhoo Ruksha is an excavation in

* "It is stated in the *Markandiya Purana*," Colonel Francklin says, "that this demon was produced on the mountain Mandara, from the ears of the god Vishnoo; and having, shortly after his birth, attempted the life of Brahma, he was, together with another demon, driven from the world above to the depths below." One of the thousand names of Vishnoo is *Mudhoosoodhunu*, the destroyer of the giant Mudhoo. Another is *Madhuva*, or the husband of Lukshmee. As both the other figures are forms of Vishnoo, we suspect that Colonel Francklin was misinformed, when he was told that this figure was designed to represent Mudhoo Ruksha: it is rather Mudhoosoodhunu himself.

† Vamunu signifies the dwarf, and is the form which Vishnoo is fabled to have taken in his fifth avatar, in order to destroy Bala. See the legend in Ward, vol. i. pp. 5—7.

‡ Narasingha is the name of Vishnoo's fourth avatar, in which, assuming the form of half-lion, half-man, he burst from a pillar to destroy Hirunyu-Kushipoo.—Ward, vol. i. pp. 4, 5.

the rocks, forming one of the *koondus* or cisterns which abound in this singular mountain; it is called *Akas Gunga* (sky river).* In it is a perpetual spring of clear and sweet water, but of shallow depth. The natives affirm, that it is never dry, but that, if it be completely emptied, it will fill again of itself: a curious circumstance, if correct, for the bed of the nearest river must be at least 1000 feet from the place where the cistern is found. Near it is a cave, in which a fakeer constantly resides. It may be better imagined than described, what an appearance the collected waters of these respective reservoirs, when overflowed at the period of the solstitial rains, must present to the view, traversing the sides of the mountain in all directions, and flashing over the surface of the rocky declivities, until their final discharge into the *Pouphur* and other receptacles in the plain below...In the spring and summer season, this mountain is covered with flowers of the most beautiful and varied hues: among others, the delicate petals of the blue and the red lotos are conspicuous.†

* Six of these *koondus* are on the sides and near the summit of the mountain; six are below.

† The whole description of this mountain forcibly recals the Mount Calasay of Hindoo fiction, to which Southey refers:

"Behold the Silver Mountain! round about
Seven ladders stand, so high, the aching eye
Seeking their tops in vain amid the sky,
Might deem they led from earth to highest heaven."

Southey has been misled by old Baldæus in giving the mountain seven distinct upright Jacob's ladders. One would have sufficed. He should have made them a succession of winding ladders. The epithet silver is well sustained by the appearance of the cascades. "The residence of Ixora," says the old writer cited in the notes, "is upon the silver mount Calaja, to the south of the famous mountain Mahameru, being a most delicious place, planted with all sorts of trees, that bear fruit all the year round. The roses and other flowers send forth a most odoriferous scent, and the pond at

"About a mile to the east, on the skirts of the hill, stands the *Kamdhenoo Mut*, a small square temple, built of stone, with a roof of brick, containing the figure of the *Kamdhenoo* or parent cow of the Hindoos; well known in Sanscrit records to have been one of the fourteen *ratnas* (gems) produced by the churning of the ocean in the white sea, in which operation the mountain named Mandara served as a churning staff.* The figure of the cow is in height three feet four inches; in length, six feet three inches; in the girth, five feet. Round the hump is a garland of flowers. Two small calves, in stone, are taking milk from the mother. The figure is cut out of a solid block of light

the foot of the mount is enclosed with pleasant walks of trees that afford an agreeable shade; while the peacocks and divers other birds entertain the ear with their harmonious noise, as the beautiful women do the eyes. The circumjacent woods are inhabited by a certain people called *munis* or *rsis*, who, avoiding the conversation of others, spend their time in offering daily sacrifices to their god."—Southey's Kehama, ii. 190.

* *Kamu-dhenoo*, "the cow which yields every thing which is desired," was the gift of Bramha to Jumudugnee, a learned ascetic. This absurd legend is connected with Vishnoo's sixth avatar. See Ward, vol. i. pp. 7—9. It is evident that the whole of this sacred territory was originally the peculiar seat of the worship of Vishnoo, not of Mahadeva or Seeva, who appears to have usurped the ascendancy. Every thing about it is connected with Vishnoo. In the *Varaha Purana*, or legend of the Fourth Incarnation of Vishnoo, is a passage (given by Colonel Francklin), setting forth the excellencies of this mountain, not as Indra's churn, but as the place where Vishnoo resides for ever, "he who destroyed the well-known malignant demon Mudhoo. It was Bhagavan who cast him under ground, and placed the mountain Mandara on his head. Therefore is Vishnoo the sovereign of all the *devatars*.... Mandara is conspicuous for a spacious reservoir situated at the foot of the mountain, wherein those who bathe shall become united to Vishnoo. The water flows from the rock of holy quality, glittering like light, derived from one source. The act of ablution at this place is equivalent to the sacrifice of an *aswamedha yug* at the place where Rama mourned his deceased father."

grey stone, and stands on a pedestal: its execution, though proportioned, is rude, and evidently of high antiquity. The temple is now fast mouldering to ruin. Near it is another in ruins, which consists of large blocks of stone. The emblem of Mahadeva is to be seen in the remains of a small stone chamber. The building is called *Kamdhenoo Nath*, and is connected with the worship of the other temple. To a considerable extent round the mountain are the remains of ruined temples, which, in ancient times, and during the splendour of the Hindoo government, must have greatly contributed to enhance the beauty and amenity of the situation of Mandara hill. The tradition prevalent asserts, that there was a large city in the neighbourhood. East of the *Mut Kamdhenoo* is a mutilated image of the goddess Kali, of blue stone, nearly seven feet high. Though the head only of the principal figure remains, several of the figures (of the groupe) of smaller dimensions remain entire. Some of them are well executed.

"A thick forest encompasses the hill Mandara on three sides: it is accessible only from the S. E. I conjecture its circumference to be about four miles, and its height, from the base to the summit, one mile two furlongs.

"Near *Pouphur talow*, a short distance up the rock to the N. W., are several very large inscriptions cut in the rock, in a character of which I could procure no account. Other inscriptions are to be seen in different parts of the mountain. The natives call them *Devatah Khut*, the character of the gods."*

* Francklin's Palibothra, Part II. pp. 14—26. The characters are not unlike those in some of the inscriptions at Ellora, but less rudely cut. They are probably those of an ancient Sanscrit (or Pracrit) alphabet.

Returning to Luknowandy Hât, Colonel Francklin resumed his survey of the river, proceeding along its banks through fields of sugar-cane, paddy, and *daul* (coarse grain). A little further, the river narrows; then widens to 600 yards, and runs eastward; and at the village of Koononee, is nearly a mile in breadth. In the narrow part there was a good deal of water. Further on, near a rocky hill on the west, a lake, below the level of the river, is formed by its waters: it is called *Deh Boorselee*. The river now winds considerably, and at the village of Domohan, is joined by the Coorara river from the S. W.* At this confluence, the latter is 145 yards in breadth, while the Chundun is only 33 at Jumdeha; a few miles higher up, it again expands to 300 yards. In its bed are found great quantities of pulverized iron, washed down by the rains from the hills to the southward. This iron is manufactured at Jumdeha, which is described as a large and populous town, on the western bank. The houses are built, as in all the neighbouring villages, in detached rows of four or five, so that the town or village of Jumdeha is nearly a mile in length. The date-tree abounds here, and the country is cultivated with sugar-cane, *jenarah*, wheat, barley, rice, mustard-seed, *til* (linseed), the cotton-shrub, and, occasionally, tobacco.† The bank of the Chundun consists of white chalk and red earth. The road now wound for two miles round hills covered with thick bamboo forests, having the river on the right. Among

* "The Coorara river takes its rise at Godoo hill, about twenty-four miles W. of Jumdaha."

† The Author also mentions among the productions of the forests, *kath*, an article eaten with betel; *lawk* or *lak*; the *tussur* silk-worm; *tikoor*, turmeric; and *abhra*, isinglass (talc?); all of them very profitable to the inhabitants.

other trees, the Author noticed the *tussur* tree, on which is produced a silk-worm of dark green colour spotted with gold. Lukshmipoor, the residence of the zemindar of this division of the Jungleterry, is beautifully situated in a valley on the left bank, surrounded with an amphitheatre of small hills and thick jungle. The remains of the fort, which was taken by Colonel Browne in 1778—9, is now converted into a comfortable habitation for the zemindar's family. Some merlons and a bastion appear to the westward. The village is but small, consisting chiefly of the residences of the zemindar's relations. Several *nullahs* join the river at different points, and the Author crossed continually the dry beds of torrents. On clearing the forest, a truly novel sight met his view. The whole of the river was imbedded with huge masses of blue rocks, as far as the eye could reach; the water, transparent as diamond, flowing in small streamlets through the interstices. The place is called *Soor Gouree*, or Print of the Genie's foot. Course of the river due East. Half an hour further, is another huge assemblage of rocks called *Looli Gogur*, or the broken river. And two hours further, at *Mowra Ghaut*, the river is again blocked up with a pile of rude and jagged rocks of the most fantastic shapes. When filled by the periodical rains, and swelled by the different *nullahs*, the river must become at these cataracts a boisterous and roaring torrent. It narrows gradually after leaving Jumdeha.

Near the village of Churna, a road turns off from the Chundun, with the Joor *nullah*, to Jayapoor, one of the principal towns in the Jungleterry; situated on a rising ground, with the Joor *nullah* in front, winding through the rocks with which its bed is thickly strewed. It is 55 miles S. from Bhau-

gulpoor, and 14 N. of Deoghur. "There is a general market here every Sunday, when the people assemble from various parts of the interior, and a brisk trade is carried on in the way of barter. The neighbourhood produces abundance of the best kinds of grain ; a large quantity of iron is also manufactured here. Numbers of the Jain sect reside in this place, and a still greater number in the neighbourhood of Deoghur. Indeed, they are to be found throughout the province."

Two hours from Jayapoor is the village of Teeoor, situated at the foot of a hill of the same name. A fort once stood here, which was destroyed after its capture by Major Brooke in 1777. "Teeoor hill is stupendous and by far the largest in the Jungleterry, consisting of many detached parts, and extending upwards of eight miles in circumference. The prominent feature of this magnificent hill is an elevated bluff point or cone rising from the centre, and visible forty miles off. Though its base and sides are covered with trees and verdure, its different summits are bleak and barren rock."

Beyond Churna, the Chundun runs nearly west. For a short distance, the river is free from rocks, and there are several villages on its banks ; but at a place called *Gujhana Gogur* (the elephant-destroying river), where it runs S. W., the channel is completely blocked up with immense rocks of the most irregular shapes, with trees growing out of the interstices. About 600 yards further on, the whole bed is occupied with another assemblage of somewhat smaller rocks. In the rainy season, the appearance must be tremendous. At Bhanga, a village on the southern bank about an hour further, is another assemblage of large rocks on the

north-western bank, and lying very thick at the bottom of a hill called *Fursa Dumkee*, the hill of the battle-ax. "This is a place of great antiquity, and is held by the natives in high veneration, on account of a singular appearance in the rocks, representing the progress of an enormous serpent sliding down the hill to the waters edge. The impression is dented on the rock, which is of a dark blue colour, approaching to black, and different from the other parts of the rock. The impression is about thirty yards in length, and its breadth varies from three to five fingers: near the river it is nine inches. Near this, is another impression, representing a *fursa* (*parasu*) or Indian battle-ax: it is called *Vajra Dund*, which, according to tradition, was the weapon of *Dhurma Nath*, the supreme being, as described in the *Outar purana* of the Jain sect. Adjoining to this is to be seen an impression, in the same blue stone, of a *dotee* or outer garment, as likewise a towel: they appear as if spread on the surface of the rock. These habiliments are also asserted to have belonged to Dhurma Nath while bathing at this place."*

Leaving Fursa Dumkee to the N. W., the Author continued to ascend the river, and at the end of nine miles, reached the village of Chundun, situated on the southern bank. The river here begins to

* "Dhurma Nath Maha Prabhoo, collecting in himself the strength of twelve thousand elephants, then struck the mountain with his battle-ax, called *vajra dund*, and split it into two parts; he then gave food to the snakes." The fissure in the mountain, says Colonel Franklin, is evident, and produces the appearance of the snake. "The tale is believed by the Jain sect; and though, from the remote situation of the place, and the ascendancy of the prevailing system of the Brahmins, no public worship is here performed, it nevertheless contributes to the confirmation of my assumption, that the Jain worship formerly prevailed in this part of the country."

narrow; its course west. It then winds southward, and the country is very undulating, covered with thick forest. At Behrokee, seven miles further, the Chundun forks off into two streams leading to its principal sources, each being about twenty-four yards in breadth. At this place, the Author collected some specimens of iron ore and some small pieces of crystal. Quartz, gypsum, and *abruk* (mica)* are found in the pebbly bed of the river, which is broken by small islands with trees. What the Author describes as the three sources of the river, are so many mere channels, each receiving, during the rainy season, the drainings of a distinct hill. The most distant source is three miles and a quarter S.W. of Behrokee; the second is two miles three furlongs to the N.W.; the third, two miles and a quarter W. These hills rise from an elevated table-land about eight miles in circuit, covered with small, stunted trees. These "sources" or heads were, at this season, perfectly dry, nor could any water be procured by digging in the channels to the depth of two feet. They are, in fact, the mere beds of torrents, which have formed these long, deep, and narrow channels, strewed with small pebbles, and a reddish sand approaching to golden. The breadth of the most western head, is a chasm four feet broad and two feet deep. The south-western channel has banks from eight to twelve feet in height, but, at its termination, is only a foot and a half in breadth. Its distance from Champanagur, following the eastern bank of the river, is eighty-six miles. The third source is about five feet broad. There is a fourth chasm, the head of the Jounsa *nullah*, which might seem to have equal claims

* Abruk or talc, with which the soil in many parts abounds, is one of the articles mentioned by Colonel Browne as forming part of the commerce of the Jungleterry district. It is made into lanterns used at the celebration of weddings and other festivals.

to be regarded as a source of the Chundun; it is twelve feet in breadth, and nearly five feet in depth. Colonel Francklin seems, however, to have a fancy for making the number of its sources correspond to its three mouths. Yet, as these heads are all dry, and the Chundun appears to have some water in different parts of its course at all seasons, the true source of the river would rather seem to be some of those *nullahs*, how inferior soever the width of their channels, which are fed by springs. The Chundun itself must be regarded as a stupendous torrent, which, in the rainy season, might be mistaken for a great river; but the shortness of its course, as well as its peculiar character, prevents our assigning it a high rank among the rivers of India.

Deoghur or Baidyanath is situated in the district of Birboom (*Virabhumi*, the land of heroes), in lat. 24° 32′ N., long. 86° 40′ E., 110 miles W. by N. from Moorshedabad. The temple, which is the grand object of attraction, is situated on a rising ground, in the midst of a thick forest. It is about a mile in circumference. In the neighbourhood are three spacious *talows* or reservoirs, dug for the benefit of the pilgrims, the surfaces of which are covered with the lotus. The temple consists of sixteen distinct *muts* or pagodas,* resembling in shape those at Gaya in Bahar. They are about seventy-seven feet in height and forty in breadth, and terminate with the trident, one of the emblems of Mahadeva. The pavement of the area of the temple

* The name of these *muts* are, Bijoo-nauth or Mahadeva *mut*; Biroo-nauth; Sunja; Ganesa; Sheim Kartikeya; Parvati; Neel Kantha; Lakshmi Narayana; Ana Poorana (a form of Doorga); Maha Kali; Gunga; Rama Lakshman and Seeta; Bugla Mookhee; Sooruj (or Surya); Saraswati; Hunooman. Besides these, there are stones consecrated to Kuvera, Brahma, Neel Chukra, Nundee, Brindara-devi, and Sona Baila (golden tree), at each of which worship is performed as at the *muts*.

is entirely of stone, surrounded with a brick wall. The approach is by a narrow entrance; and the vestibules leading to the interior of the respective pagodas, are long, narrow passages, lined with stone. The doors are extremely low, and the principal altar, consisting of the emblem of Mahadeva, is seen from a distance, lighted by a lamp; the sides and floor of the chamber are blackened with smoke and besmeared with oil. Pilgrims resorting hither, usually bring with them Ganges water from Hurdwar and other sacred places, which they pour over the lingam as they walk round it.* "The celebrity of the fair at Deoghur yields to that of none in India, and bears equal credit, in point of sanctity, with those of Casi (Benares), Prayag (Allahabad), or Chilumbarum and Trinomalee in the Carnatic.† Jugunnauth in Orissa is, perhaps, its only superior; but at Deoghur, you are not presented with any of the nauseous and disgusting spectacles which are exhibited at Jugunnauth and many other places.... .Though the worship of Mahadeva or Bijoo Nauth has long been practised in this province, the temples are not of very ancient date. By an inscription over the outer gateway of the

* Hamilton states, that some of the pilgrims lie down and continue fasting until they have a favourable dream; a superstition similar to that which prevailed among the worshippers of Æsculapius at Epidaurus. See MOD. TRAV., Greece, vol. ii. p. 115, *note*.

† "It is calculated, that, from the Bahar district alone, 6000 persons repair to it annually." Hamilton, vol. i. p. 159. Thirty-two villages in the *pergunnah* of Deoghur are allotted for the maintenance of the chief pundit or high priest of the temple; "granted by Government at the settlement of the Jungleterry district by Mr. Cleveland and Colonel Browne. They are in a very flourishing state of cultivation." It is only at the great annual festivals that Deoghur is thronged. At other times, few persons reside there, except the police-officers of Government, and those living in the bazar.

Mut called *Mahadeva Mundala*, it appears that the building was erected in the year 1517 of *Salivahana*, which makes it 254 years old (in 1818)."* In the neighbourhood of Deoghur, within the extent of about eight miles, are to be found the following temples, which are dependent on and connected with that at Deoghur; viz.—1. *Herlijooree*, two miles N.; 2. *Tupusyubunu* or forest of devotion, E. by N.; 3. *Choul* hill, three miles S. W.; 4. *Nundunu Bun*, two miles W." ......Herlijooree, or the junction of the two trees, derives its supposed sanctity from being the place where Seeva and Vishnu met, when the former deity was brought from Ceylon to Deoghur. The stumps of two aged trees† are to be seen, surrounded with a small platform, and the flag of Mahadeva is fixed on the top: underneath is a stone figure of *Neel Kantha* (a form of that deity). Near the village is a remarkable well, called *Trisool Koondu*, the well of the trident; it is eighty yards in circumference, lined with stone, and the spring is said to be perennial. The tradition of course is, that it was produced by Mahadeva's striking the ground with his trident. It is, we think, most probable, that all these sacred places were originally connected with an older superstition than that to which they are now appropriated; possibly, with the less corrupt rites of the Jain worship.‡

* It is said to have been built by Rajah Praun Mull of Ghiddore. —Hamilton.

† "Great antiquity is attached to these trees," says Col. Francklin, "but I do not conceive that they can have seen a hundred years. They are most probably occasionally replaced by others."

‡ Francklin's Palibothra, Part II. App. D. Part III. of the Author's "Inquiry," containing the Continuation of his Journey from Deoghur to the passes in the Ramghur frontier, is a valuable contribution to Indian topography, but contains little infor-

The inhabitants of all the hilly country between Bhaugulpoor and Burdwan, are a race distinct from those of the plain, in features, language, civilization, and religion. They have no caste, care nothing for the Hindoo deities, and "are even said," Bishop Heber adds, "to have no idols." This last statement, however, appears to be not quite correct. The Puharrees whom the Bishop saw in the school at Boglipoor, were "middle sized, or rather little men, but extremely well made, with remarkably broad chests, long arms, and clean legs; broad faces, small eyes, and flattish, or turned up noses."* He thought

mation of general interest. He bears testimony to the accuracy of the geographical details contained in Colonel Browne's Account of the Jungleterry.

* "In the bazar (at Rajmahal) I saw some of the Hill people; a short, thick-set, sturdy-built race, with the African nose and lip." Sketches of India, p. 154. "The natives of these hills," says Lieutenant Shaw, "are mostly very low in stature, but stout and well proportioned. To find a man six feet high, would, I believe, be a phenomenon; there are many less than four feet ten inches, and more, perhaps, under five feet three inches, than above that standard. A flat nose seems the most characteristic feature, but it is not so flat as in the Caffres of Africa, nor are their lips so thick, though they are in general thicker than in the inhabitants of the plains." Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 93. A description, for the most part strikingly similar, is given of the inhabitants of the Garrow Hills, which bound the north-eastern part of Bengal. "A Garrow," says Mr. Elliott, who visited them in 1788, "is a stout, well-shaped man, hardy and able to do much work; of a surly look, flat, *Cafri*-like nose, small eyes, generally blue or brown; forehead wrinkled and over-hanging eye-brows; with large mouth, thick lips, and face round and short. Their colour is a light or deep brown.····Their surly look seems to indicate ill-temper; but this is far from being the case, as they are of a mild disposition. They are, moreover, honest in their dealings, and sure to perform what they promise." A caste or tribe of the same race, called *Hajins*, who reside at the foot of the hills, are distinguished by being more advanced towards civilization, and in religious matters partaking more of the Hindoo notions. "Their women are re-

them fairer (or less dark) than the Bengalees, and the expression of their countenances was cheerful and intelligent. Of the Puharrees in general, he gives a very favourable representation. "Notwithstanding their poverty," says his Lordship, "their living chiefly by the chase, and always going armed, the general conduct both of chiefs and people, has been orderly and loyal ever since their fathers swore allegiance. They are hospitable according to their small means, and have no sort of objection to eat with or after Europeans. They are a little too fond of spirits; a taste which Cleveland unfortunately encouraged, by sending them presents of the kind, and allowing them to drink when at his house. Though accustomed to make predatory inroads on their lowland and hereditary enemies, among themselves they have always been honest; and, what is an immense distinction indeed between them and the Hindoos, they hate and despise a lie more than most nations in the world. The soldiers who have committed any fault, own it readily, and either ask pardon or submit in silence. In the cutcherry, the evidence of a Puharree is always trusted more than that of half a dozen Hindoos; and there is hardly any instance on record of a chief violating his word. Though dirty in their persons in comparison with the Hindoos, they are very clean in their cottages; and their villages are kept free from the vile smells which meet us in those of Bengal. The men dislike hard work, and are chiefly occupied in hunting; but the women are very industrious in cultivating the little patches of

markably neat and clean," and "the streets of their villages equal to the neatness of their houses." Asiat. Res., vol. iii, 25, 30.

garden round their villages. They are also generally chaste; and it no doubt contributes to keep them so, that the premature and forced marriages of the Hindoos are unknown; that their unions take place at a suitable age, and that the lad has generally to wait on the lass during a pretty long courtship. They make very good and faithful household servants, but are not fond of the way of life, and do not agree well with their Hindoo fellow-domestics. Both men and women are intelligent and lively, but rather passionate; and they differ from most of the Hindoos, in being fond of music and having a good ear. Captain Graham has instructed some of their boys as fifers, and found them apt scholars. They are fond of pedigree and old stories; and their chiefs pique themselves on their families. No clanship or feudal subjection, however, appears to exist. If a man is dissatisfied with the head of his village, there is nothing to prevent his removal to another. In short, they are *Welch.*

"Mr. Corrie has obtained a little vocabulary of their language, which certainly differs very remarkably from the Hindoostanee, and, I am told, from the Bengalee. The old commandant, who has been on service towards the Berar frontier, says, he could converse perfectly with the Bheels and Gooand tribes; so that they are apparently different branches of the same great family which pervades all the mountainous centre of India; the *Gaels* of the East, who have probably, at some remote period, been driven from all but these wildernesses by the tribes professing the brahminical faith."

The following is Captain Graham's account of their religion. "The Hill people offer up frequent prayers to one Supreme Being, whom they call *Budo Gosaee*, which in their language means, Supreme God.

Prayer to God is strictly enjoined morning and evening. They also offer up propitiatory sacrifices of buffaloes, goats, fowls, and eggs, to several inferior, and some evil deities. *Malnad* is the tutelary genius of each village; *Dewannee*, the household god. *Pow* is sacrificed to before undertaking a journey. They appear to believe in a future state of rewards and punishments chiefly carried on by means of transmigration; the souls of the good being sent back to earth in the bodies of great men, and those of the wicked in brutes and even trees. The great God made every thing. Seven brothers were sent to possess the earth. They give themselves the credit of being descended from the eldest, and say, that the sixth was the father of the Europeans. Each brother was presented, on setting out, with a portion of the particular kind of food which he and his descendants were to eat. But the eldest had a portion of every kind of food, and in a *dirty dish.* This legend, they allege as their reason for observing no restriction of meats, and for eating with or after any body. They say, they are strictly forbidden by God to beat, abuse, or injure their neighbours, and that a lie is the greatest of all crimes. Hog's blood appears to answer with them all the purposes which holy water does with some other nations. If a person is killed by a tiger, it is the duty of his relations to avenge his death by killing one of those animals in return, on which occasion they resort to many strange ceremonies. They are great believers in witchcraft. Every ache which the old commandant feels in his bones, and every disappointment or calamity which befals him or any of his friends, he imputes to this cause, and menaces or bribes some old woman or other. They have also many interpreters of dreams among them, whom they call *Damauns*, and believe to be

possessed by a familiar spirit. When any of these die, they place his body, without burial, in the jungle. They also suppose certain diseases to be inflicted by evil spirits, to whom they expose the bodies of such as die of them: those who die of small-pox, are cast out into the woods; those who die of dropsy, into the water.

"They have no idols or images of any kind: a black stone found in the hills, is, by some ceremonies, consecrated and used as an altar. They have several festivals which are held in high reverence. The *Chitturia* is the greatest, but is seldom celebrated, on account of its expense. It lasts five days, during which buffaloes, hogs, fruits, fowls, grain, and spirits are offered up to the gods, and afterwards feasted on. This is the only festival in which females are permitted to join. During its continuance, they salute nobody, all honour being then appropriated to the gods."*

Of one of these festivals, we have an account given by an eye-witness, which does not speak much for the humanity or civilization of these mountain tribes. Mr. Christian, the missionary stationed at Boglipoor by the Gospel Propagation Society, having heard that the people of an adjacent village were celebrating a great sacrifice to *Kappi Gossinie*, repaired thither. "This sacrifice," he tells us, "is held once a year, in the month of January, with those who are rich; and as there is considerable expense attending it, those

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 277—281. This account given by Captain Graham, tallies exactly with the paper by Lieutenant Shaw, in vol. ii. of the Asiat. Researches, already cited. Some of the tribes are said to differ in their peculiar customs; as the *Hajins* differ from the other Garrows. Both the *Hajin* caste and the mountaineers of Rajmahal have a superstitious veneration for a tiger, and are very averse to killing one, except in retaliation.

who are poor, content themselves with observing it every three or four years. For some time before this takes place, the chief and villagers collect all that they can; and, from their common stock, purchase a buffalo and whatever other animals are required. The night previous, the people of the village and their neighbours assemble, and commence with drinking, dancing, and singing: this is kept up all night. The next morning, they collect round the buffalo, when the chief cuts the sinews of the legs with a sword, which brings it to the ground; and then, with a few strokes more, severs the head from the body: when the blood begins to flow, the *demanos* and persons supposed to be possessed of evil spirits, rush forward and drink it; and, when they have enough, retire and bathe in some running stream, after which they are supposed to be exorcised. After the buffalo, the other animals are slain; and then the drinking, dancing, and music are resumed, which are kept up as long as the flesh of the sacrifice lasts.

"When I entered the village, I saw the house opposite to me filled with persons singing and dancing, with their arms round one another's necks: they stopped on observing me; but I made a salaam, and walked on. On every side, I saw persons, both men and women, fallen down intoxicated; and when they were not in this state, they were keeping up the festivity, some in large parties, and some in companies of three and four. Coming opposite the Manjie's house, I saw the headless carcase of the buffalo, and the head on a small wooden frame at a short distance: I stood to look at this, and presently all in the village that could walk, gathered about me. They brought me a charpoy to sit on, and then three or four got about my feet and began to rub the sinews of my legs:

one wished to be allowed to take off my shoes, to rub my feet, which I found it no very easy matter to dissuade him from. When I had acknowledged all these attentions, I spoke to them of the sacrifice, and asked why they had not called me to witness it. They said, that they took great fault to themselves for not having done so; but they thought I would not have come: one said, (which I believe to be nearer the truth,) that they had not sent for me, lest my presence should be a restraint on their excesses. I asked for the Manjie: they said he was intoxicated and asleep, but offered to call him. Though I forbade it, some of them awoke him; and he came as like a madman as one could well fancy: his long hair was loose and falling over his face and shoulders; his body smeared thickly with oil, and a red mark on his forehead. When I asked him if he was the chief, he said yes; and then with violent gestures began to describe how he had killed the sacrifice, and how at two strokes he had cut off the head. Observing that there was very little blood on the ground, I asked what had become of it: they said, that the *demanos* and four possessed had drunk it. Seeing that I gave them pain in endeavouring to find how they could be kind to me, and that I could say nothing that could benefit them in their present state, I got up to go away, and was accompanied to the brow of the hill by some of the people singing and dancing." *

A few days afterwards, Mr. Christian witnessed a scene of the same description at the village of Libha. "When I entered the village," he says, "I saw crowds of people in every direction, dancing and singing, with tomtoms and cymbals. The buffalo was led

* *Miss. Reg.* 1827, p. 545.

forth, with his fore-feet tied, to a stake at a short distance, amidst the shouts of the groupe before me, who screamed with delight. As soon as it was bound, two or three persons began to torture it, which they did by putting the tail in their mouths, and tearing off the flesh with their teeth. While they were doing this, the Manjie brought a young pig, and killed it near the divinity of the village (in honour of whom the sacrifice was observed), who was represented under the figure of three unformed black stones. A young man then brought a bamboo tray, having on it Indian corn, boiled rice, and flour, and a vessel of water, with which he washed the stones and the ground about them, and sprinkled a fresh green bough, which a few minutes before had been fastened in the ground beside it. He then took the *kudoom*, a sacred stool, and placed it on the stones; and, mixing the flour with water in a small brass cup, smeared it over the stool, the idol, and on the ground about it, and the green bough, and in like manner strewed the rice and Indian corn. The Manjie now arose; and, dashing a vessel in his hand violently on the ground, took a sword, and going up to the victim, with one blow cut its ham-strings, and brought it to the ground. They now loosed it from the stake, and dragged it toward the shrine, when the parties commenced cutting at the neck with their swords. I never before saw a sight so barbarous: for a long time, while they continued cutting at it, it struggled and forced itself round the shrine, till at last, exhausted from loss of blood, it fell down, and suffered its butchers to hack away. When the head was separated, they placed it before their god; and a young man took up some of the blood in his hands, and sprinkled it over the sacred stool and branch, and

also threw some on the bystanders. The persons possessed of evil spirits came forward at the same time, and caught up some of the blood, which they seemed to drink with eagerness.

"This horrid sight appeared to give them the greatest pleasure: and I am almost inclined to think, that they have these sights to gratify a barbarous inclination, as much as to conciliate the favour of their gods; for they never could have allowed themselves to put a creature to so much torture, if they had not been gratified in doing it. I should observe, that just as the animal was about to be killed, the people before me began dancing, leaping, and running about; making a noise like the barking of a dog, and crying out '*kaso! kaso!*' (blood! blood!) The people of the village, and those present from neighbouring ones, were more or less intoxicated, without exception of age or sex. In the party before me were six women, who, though but just able to stand, were keeping up the dance; and poor little children, for whom I felt most, as they seemed the most hopeful part of the assemblage, were instructed to practise all the excesses of their elders. My good little boys and Chand kept close to my side all the time; and when I came away, they followed me, without a wish to stay behind." *

The Hill country, Bishop Heber was informed,* "is very beautiful and naturally fertile; but, in many parts of it, there is a great scarcity of water; a want which the people urge as an excuse for their neglect of bathing. As so much rain falls, this might, and would by a civilized people, be remedied; but the Puharrees neither make tanks nor have any instruments proper for digging wells. The thick

* *Miss. Reg.* 1827, pp. 545, 6. Chand is one of the Hill people in Mr. Christian's service.

jungle makes the hills unwholesome to Europeans during the rains: at other times, the climate is extremely agreeable, and, in winter, more than agreeably cold. Mr. Chambers, one night, had a jug of water frozen over to a considerable thickness in his tent, and close to his bed. The Puharrees are a healthy race, but the small-pox used to make dreadful ravages among them. Vaccination has now been generally introduced: they were very thankful for it, bringing their children from thirty or fifty miles off to Boglipoor, to obtain it. Wild animals of all kinds are extremely abundant, from the jackal to the tiger, and from the deer to the elephant and rhinoceros. Their way of destroying the large animals is, generally, by poisoned arrows. The poison is a gum which they purchase from the Garrows who inhabit the mountains to the north of Silhet, at Peer Pointee fair." *

This last circumstance is important, as tending to establish the fact of a connexion, and probably an affinity, between the Puharrees of Rajmahal and the mountaineers of the Garrows. Notwithstanding some shades of difference in their dialect, customs, and physiognomy, there appears little reason to doubt that they alike belong to the same aboriginal family as the Bheels of the Vindhyan range and Rajpootana, and the Goonds of Gondwana and Bhopaul.

We now again set forth with the Bishop on his upward voyage. The first point of interest after leaving Bhaugulpoor, is the celebrated Fakeer's Rock at Janghera.† It rises abruptly from the midst of

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 281, 2.

† Janghera is the name of a tower which rises from the river. The place is near the town of Sultangunge, (Bernoulli writes it *Sultan-gans, ou "le Grenier Royal,"*) which is eight miles below Monghyr.

deep water near to the right shore, and has a small temple of Mahadeva on the summit, tenanted by some dozen lazy and insolent fakeers. On a little promontory which runs out into the river, stands a mosque; and the Currukpoor hills in the distance complete the beauty of the view. The Ganges has here all the appearance of an arm of the sea. A little to the east of Monghyr, about half a mile from the shore, is the celebrated hot spring of *Seeta-Koond* (the well of Seeta), situated in a plain backed by the hills, with several rocks rising about it. "The spring," Lord Valentia says, "is considerable, and the air-bubbles rise in great quantities. I had no thermometer to ascertain the heat, but it was too hot to let the hand remain in it. It is built round, with steps to descend to it, so that I could not examine the substance of the natural sides. There are three cold springs on three sides of it, at the distance of about twenty paces." * Immediately after passing this

* Valentia, vol. i. p. 177. Seeta is, in Hindoo mythology, the wife of Rama. Bishop Heber was unable to visit this spring. The following particulars are given by Bernoulli:—"It has no taste of sulphur or any other mineral: on the contrary, it is sweet and pleasant as spring water. The water preserves its high temperature (*grande chaleur*) during about eight months: from the vernal equinox to near the summer solstice, it is less burning, and becomes tepid." Whether it preserves the same temperature night and day, or, like the Fountain of the Sun at Siwah, or that at El Kassar, varies in the twenty-four hours, does not appear to have been ascertained. The following statement, however, seems to render it probable. "When visited by Dr. F. Buchanan in April 1810, the thermometer, in the open air being 68°, rose to 130° when immersed; on the 20th of that month, from 84° to 122°; yet, on the 28th, *a little after sunset*, the thermometer only rose from 90° to 92°; at another period, on the 21st of July, from 90° to 132°; and, on the 21st of September, from 88° to 132°."—Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 253. The bottom, Bernoulli says, is mud, which emits the bubbles of air. The same is observed of the Ammonian fount. See Mod. Trav., Egypt, vol. ii. pp. 207, 218. Bernoulli, vol. i. p. 429.

place, a low rocky hill comes close to the water's edge, strewed all over with large round masses of fluor and mica. Some other pretty hills succeed of rather "antic shapes;" all apparently of limestone in a state of considerable decomposition. The north-eastern bank of the river continues perfectly flat, bare, and ugly.

Monghyr is most beautifully situated on a bend of the Ganges, which, in the rainy season, forms a prodigious fresh-water sea, bounded by the Currukpoor hills. The protruding point of the rock, which braves the whole force of the river, is deemed by the Hindoos a sacred bathing-place. Directly above it is a tolerably handsome Hindoo temple, which had five arched entrances: facing these, were as many richly carved niches, meant to contain idols. Sultan Sujah, who made this city his chief residence during his government of Bengal, removed the images, and converted the building into a mosque. It is now the residence of some invalid soldiers. The walls contain, besides lines for five companies of invalid sepoys, a house occupied by the commandant, and others belonging to the officers quartered here, a village, and the ruins of Sultan Sujah's palace. The remainder of the area is taken up with gardens, tanks, and plantations. One or two extremely good European houses are seen, "each perched upon its own little eminence;" and altogether, Monghyr has an imposing appearance. "The *ghaut*," says the Bishop, "offered a scene of bustle and vivacity which I by no means expected. There were so many budgerows and pulwars, that we had considerable difficulty to find a mooring-place for our boat; and as we approached the shore, we were beset by a crowd of beggars and artizans, who brought for sale, guns, knives, and other hardware, as also

many articles of upholstery and toys. There were also barbers in abundance, conspicuous by their red turbans. A juggler too made his appearance, leading a tall brown goat almost as high as a Welch poney, with two little brown monkeys on its back. In short, it was the liveliest scene which I had encountered during the voyage. As it grew cool, I walked into the fort, passing by an English burial-ground fenced in with a wall, and crammed full of those obelisk tombs which seem most distinctive of European India. The fort occupies a great deal of ground, but is now dismantled. Its gates, battlements, &c., are all of Asiatic architecture, and precisely similar to those of the Khitaigorod of Moscow. Within is an ample plain of fine turf, dotted with a few trees, and two noble tanks of water, the largest covering about a couple of acres. Two high grassy knolls are enclosed within the rampart, occupying two opposite angles of the fort, which is an irregular square, with semi-circular bastions, and a very wide and deep moat, except on the west side, where it rises immediately from the rocky banks of the river. On one of the eminences is a collection of prison-like buildings; on the other, a very large and handsome house, built for the commander-in-chief of the district at the time that Monghyr was an important station, and the Mahrattas were in the neighbourhood; * but it was sold some

* The town was first fortified by Sultan Sujah. Cossim Ali Khan, when he meditated throwing off all dependence on the English, strengthened the fortifications; but it was taken by the British, in 1763, after a siege of nine days. It was for some time a place of considerable importance as a frontier town and military depôt; and Lord Cornwallis had planned to fortify the rising ground on which the old palace stands, and to level the rest, which would be necessary for its defence. The obtaining of the ceded provinces from the Nabob of Oude, has rendered it a position of

years ago by Government. The view from the rampart and the eminences is extremely fine. Monghyr stands on a rocky promontory with the broad river on both sides, forming two bays, beyond one of which the Rajmahal hills are visible, and the other is bounded by the nearer range of Currukpoor.*

"The town is larger than I expected to find it, and in better condition than most native towns. Though all the houses are small, there are many of them with an upper story, and the roofs, instead of the flat terrace or thatch, which are the only variations in Bengal, are generally sloping, with red tiles of the same shape and appearance with those which we see in Italian pictures; they have also little earthenware ornaments on their gables, such as I have seen on the other side of Rajmahâl. The shops are numerous, and I was surprised at the neatness of the kettles, tea-trays, guns, pistols, toasting-forks, cutlery, and other things of the sort, which may be procured in this tiny Birmingham. I found afterwards, that this place had been from very early antiquity celebrated for its smiths, who derived their art from the Hindoo Vulcan, who had been solemnly worshipped, and was supposed to have had a workshop here. The only thing which appears to be wanting to make their steel excellent, is a better manner of smelting, and a more liberal use of charcoal and the hammer. As it is, their guns are very apt to burst, and their knives to break; precisely the faults which, from want of capital, beset the works of inferior artists in England. The extent, however, to which these people carry on their

less importance; and Allahabad is now made a frontier depôt in its stead.

* Lord Valentia preferred the view from the Governor's house to any thing that he had seen in India.

manufactures, and the closeness with which they imitate English patterns, shew plainly how popular those patterns are become among the natives." *

Monghyr is a place of considerable antiquity. A grant of land, dated from this place, was found in clearing a well, which is admitted to be nearly coeval with the Christian era. Lord Valentia suggests, that the fort might originally have been built with the intention of collecting tribute from the crowds of pilgrims who annually repair to the well of Seeta. The remains of the old palace were still considerable in 1803, notwithstanding that every one who wanted materials for new habitations, had plundered its bricks and wood without mercy. "A small mosque," his Lordship says, "is at present the most beautiful building remaining. It is built of the black stone of the country, with white marble tablets, in which are inlaid, in black stone, verses from the Koran. The floor is Mosaic. The baths are also in tolerable preservation, as is the *divan khanah* or hall of audience, and the whole of the *zenana* may be traced in the ruins. Near the palace is a very large well, to which you descend by a long and wide flight of steps: it is never dry, and is supposed to have a subterranean communication with the river. This is called the singing-well; and the natives firmly believe, that, every seven years, is heard at the bottom, the sound

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 290—3. Hamilton states, that the blacksmiths occupy about forty houses. "The gardeners of Monghir are also noted throughout Bengal for their expertness, and the tailors are not of less celebrity, much of the army clothing being made here, besides shoes, both of native and European fashions. Here also, and at Boglipoor, are some workmen who make European furniture, palankeens, and carriages." There are no fewer than sixteen different bazars scattered over a space of about a mile and a half long and one wide.—Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 252, 3.

of singing and music, such as was produced by the *nautch* girls in the neighbouring *zenana*. They say, that, when Sultan Suja was obliged to flee to Rajamahal, he put to death all his women whom he could not take with him, by immuring some in the walls of the well, and by throwing others into it." * The place of worship in most repute, is the monument of Peer Shah Hossein Lohauni, where both Hindoos and Moslems make frequent offerings, especially on their marriages and other emergencies. Eight native schools have recently been established here, and the Baptist Missionary Society have made it one of their stations. Monghyr is about 250 miles N.W. of Calcutta, in lat. 25° 23' N., long. 86° 26' E. The population is stated by Hamilton at 30,000 souls. †

On leaving the hills of the Jungleterry district,‡ the flat country of Bahar and Allahabad, as far as Benares, presents a vast extent of fertile soil, well cultivated and peopled; and a striking change becomes visible in the general appearance of the population. "The whole scene, in short," says the Bishop, "is changed from Polynesia," (to which Bengal struck him as presenting many features of strong resemblance, in the aspect both of the country and of the people,) § "to the more western parts of Asia and the east of

* Valentia, vol. i. pp. 61—3.

† Hamilton, vol. i. p. 253. *Miss. Reg.* 1828.

‡ This district, Bishop Heber says, is not reckoned either in Bengal or Bahar, having always been regarded, till its pacification and settlement, as a sort of border and debateable land.

§ "If you wish to obtain an idea of the people or country of Bengal, I know not where I can refer you better than to the large prints of Cook's Third Voyage. The expression of countenance is remarkably similar to that which his draftsman has given to the Otaheitans." Heber, vol. iii. p. 317. The natives of Ceylon subsequently struck the Author as still more like the South Sea Islanders.

Europe." "I could almost fancy myself," he adds, "in Persia, Syria, or Turkey, to which (impression) the increasing number of Mussulmans, though still the minority, the minarets, and the less dark complexion of the people much contribute." It is only in the large towns, however, that the Mussulmans are numerous; and so greatly does the proportion vary in different districts, that it is difficult to strike the average. In some parts of the Dacca division of Bengal, the Mohammedans outnumber the Hindoos; and in others, they are as six or seven to ten; while in the Patna division of Bahar, the proportion varies from one to two, to one to fifty. In the greater part of the Benares division, the proportion is that of two to fifteen.*

Nor is the transition in passing from Bengal to Bahar, quite so marked in other respects as the Author represents. "As we advance northward," remarks Mr. Hamilton, "the race of men evidently improves, compared with those of Bengal, as they are taller and much more robust; but, between the two provinces, so intimate a connexion has always subsisted, that it is difficult to separate their history and statistics." Bengal, according to Bishop Heber, is not popularly included within the bounds of Hindostan, which properly begins at Monghyr. For this arbitrary distinction, however, there seems no better reason assignable, than that the Bengalese are a race characteristically distinct from other tribes of Hindoos, and speaking a peculiar dialect, yet one not less intimately allied to the Sanscrit family, than the Mahratta or the

* See Brewster's Encyclopædia, Article, India, vol. xii. p. 114. There is strong reason, however, to doubt the accuracy of the returns.

Hindoostanee itself.* Bengal was one of the twelve *soubahs* into which the Emperor Akbar divided his dominions, and cannot with any propriety be detached geographically from the other Gangetic provinces. Nor does Bengal differ more from Bahar, than the latter country does, in almost every respect, from the kingdom of Oude. The Bengalees are spoken of in the other provinces with a degree of contempt; and the term Bengalee, Bishop Heber says, "is used to express any thing that is roguish and cowardly."† "Partly owing to this reputation, and partly to their inferior size, the sepoy regiments are always recruited from Bahar and the upper provinces. Yet," adds his Lordship, "that little army with which Lord Clive did such wonders, was chiefly raised from Bengal." It may, however, we apprehend, be set down as unquestionable, that the natives of Bengal are characterized generally by a physical inferiority, a feebleness and imbecility, resolvable in some degree into the effects of climate, and in part assignable to original constitutional and moral causes.

"It will readily be allowed," remarks the Author of a sensible Essay on the Native Character, "that courage and daring boldness are by no means the characteristics of the natives of Bengal. The heat of

* See page 84 of this volume. "The language of Bengal," says Bishop Heber, "which is quite different from Hindoostanee, is soft and liquid. The common people are all fond of singing, and some of the airs which I used to hear from the boatmen and children in the villages, reminded me of the Scotch melodies." Heber, vol. iii. p. 317.

† "Take care, dandee folk," said one of the Bishop's attendants to the boatmen who had been committing trespass in a corn-field near Boglipoor; "you are now in Hindostan. The people of this country know well how to fight, and are not afraid." Heber, vol. i. p. 269.

the climate, and their indolent habits are unfriendly to that firmness of nerve and that temperament of body which may in some degree be termed the material from which courage and firmness are formed. Instead of this, there is a natural softness or mildness about them, which in itself is highly pleasing, and which they are not likely ever to lose. How much soever we may be annoyed, therefore, by their secret purloining or petty thefts, it will be some time at least, before we shall fear to walk the streets or the suburbs of the city in the evening, on account of *single* native highway robbers. No man could travel singly fifteen miles from London, at any hour of the night, with that perfect freedom from fear relative to robbery and murder, which he may enjoy in passing, at all hours of the night, from the metropolis of India to any place within twenty, or possibly fifty miles. From this absence of physical and mental courage, however, flows another trait in their character, not highly favourable. It leads them to fear others; and this fear, when connected with the absence of moral principle, is too apt to lead to a certain abjectness of mind, which expresses itself in cringing and flattery to a high degree. As they have so little hope of obtaining their object by force, they attempt to disarm others by an abject submission, and to win them to their purpose by that extravagant flattery which is the sure mark of a weak and abject mind. With all this weakness of nature and mildness of disposition, they unhappily do not unite any correspondent degree of compassion for the distresses of others; they have, on the contrary, a large share of that unfeeling cruelty towards those who are completely in their power, which is the almost constant characteristic of a pusillanimous mind. On the same principle it is, that

insult and cruelty are often indulged towards one whom, perhaps, they dare not destroy. Nearly allied to this is another trait in their present character, too notorious to be passed over in silence. This is, their want of humane feelings towards the brute creation, their own countrymen in distress, and even their own relatives. Their inhumanity towards their own countrymen is sufficiently evinced by their coolly suffering one of them, in a state of want or disease, to perish before their eyes, if he should not happen to be one of their relatives or friends, or at least one of their own division of caste;* and by their seeing a boat full of their countrymen, who, perhaps, within a few hours, had been bowing down to the same log of wood with themselves, sinking before their eyes without making the least attempt to save them; a sight which those Europeans who reside on the banks of the river, have often the distress of witnessing. But their unfeeling conduct towards their sick and dying wives, and towards their aged parents when in a state of disease, is sometimes shocking in the extreme."

In fact, mild and amiable as they appear, this Writer gives it as the result of a twenty years' observation, that, in their conduct generally, there is visible a total absence of moral principle. "Neither dishonesty, falsehood, nor impurity is at all foreign to their present character." And to their love of ease and inaction may be traced another feature; "an astonishing degree of mental imperfection relative to those parts of knowledge which are within their reach. If they have learned to read, they can seldom read five words together without stopping to make

* See Heber's Letters, vol. iii., pp. 262, 3. Also, Mill, vol. i., pp. 403—7.

out the syllables, and often scarcely two, even when the hand-writing is legible. The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of figures. What little they learn of this nature in their own schools, is retained so feebly, that, with the exception of sircars and others, in whom the hope of immediate profit overcomes idleness itself, they are ignorant of figures to a degree of which a European can scarcely conceive. This imperfection extends even to their learned men. Among these are undoubtedly to be found men of superior minds, who, as philologists, would bear a comparison with any among our western literati. But this is far from being the case with the generality of bramhuns, or even those who are trained up to learning from their earliest youth. With a very great part of these, their Sungskrit learning is little more than a name. This trait in their habits gives such an appearance of ignorance and feebleness of mind to the natives in general, that we can scarcely avoid identifying it with the whole of their character."

From this state of mental indolence and imbecility, the influence of Christian knowledge, and moral principle will, no doubt, greatly tend to rouse them; while their mildness of disposition may be improved into a character truly amiable. "No prevalence of the highest moral principle in their minds, however, can make any physical alteration in the natives of Bengal. They never will possess that firmness of nerve, that natural courage and bravery, to be found in the natives of Europe. Christians, pious, sincere, temperate, and amiable, they may become; but Britons, in courage and mental strength, they never will be. Nor will they ever be able, alone, to preserve their independence against their western and southern countrymen." Were the protection of

Britain to be withdrawn, to their countrymen on their own borders, they would fall an easy prey.*

It has been the common error of most writers who have attempted to portray the national character, that they have confounded together, under the generic name of Hindoos, tribes differing most essentially in their physical temperament and moral habits. Thus, Mr. Orme has a separate treatise on the effeminacy of the inhabitants of Hindoostan, although the Hindoo is not more effeminate than the Chinese or the Persian. He is obliged, indeed, to admit of exceptions which amount to a virtual contradiction of his statement. Applied, however, to the Bengalee, most of his observations will be found correct; and they may therefore claim insertion in this place.

"The colour of the Indians is generally either that of copper or of the olive, but both with various shades. It is not absolutely the proximity of the inhabitant to the equator, that determines his complexion in India; other physical causes form differences which arise, as by starts, in regions equally distant from the sun; and in their complexion, less national generality is found, than in any other of the properties of their figure. Some are almost black; but these are either inhabitants of the woods, or people inured to labour and fatigues uncommon to the rest of their countrymen.† The hair of the Indians

* Friend of India, vol. ii. pp. 388—400.

† "The great difference in colour between different natives, struck me much. Of the crowd by whom we were surrounded, some were black as negroes, others merely copper-coloured, and others little darker than the Tunisines whom I have seen at Liverpool. It is not merely the difference of exposure, since this variety of tint is visible in the fishermen, who are naked all alike. Nor does it depend on caste, since very high caste Brahmins are sometimes black, while pariahs are comparatively fair. It seems,

is, without exception, long, fine, and of a jet black. The nose, if not always aquiline, is never buried in the face, nor with large distorted nostrils, as in the Caffres of Africa, and in the Malay nations.

"Their lips, though in general larger than in Europeans, have nothing of that disagreeable protuberancy projecting beyond the nose, which characterises the two nations just mentioned. The eye-brows are full in the men, slender in the women; well placed in both. The eye-lid is of the finest form,—long, neither opening circularly, as in many of the inhabitants of France, nor scarcely opening at all, as in the Chinese. The iris is always black, but rarely with lustre, excepting in their children, and in some of their women; nor is the white of the eye perfectly clear from a tinge of yellow: their countenance, therefore, receives little animation, but rather a certain air of languor from this feature. From the nostrils to the middle of the upper lip, they have an indenture, strongly marked by two ridges, seldom observable in the northern Europeans, but often in the Spaniard and Portuguese; and from the middle of the under lip, there is such another indenture, which loses itself a little above the chin: these lines, chiefly remarked in persons of thin habits, give an air of sagacity to the men, and of delicacy to the physiognomy of the women. The outline of the face is various, oftener oval than of any other form, particularly in the women; and this variety of outline is another of the principal characters which distinguishes the Indian from the Tartar, as well as the Malay; whose face are universally of the same shape; that is, as broad as they are long.

therefore, to be an accidental difference, like that of light and dark complexions in Europe."—Heber, vol. i. p. 19.

"The muscular strength of the Indian is still less than might be expected from the appearance of the texture of his frame......But...he is endowed with a certain suppleness, which enables him to work long in his own degree of labour, and which renders those contortions and postures that would cramp the inhabitant of northern regions, no constraint to him. There are not more extraordinary tumblers in the world.* Their messengers will go fifty miles a day, for twenty or thirty days without intermission. Their infantry march faster and with less weariness than Europeans; but could not march at all, if they were to carry the same baggage and accoutrements."†

"The Bengalees, in height," says Mr. Tytler, "are generally of the middle size, uncommonly straight and well made; and their countenances, when young, are generally pleasing. Their children, when very young, are extremely handsome and lively, becoming duller as they grow old."

"The mild and regular climate of their country,‡ the fertility of their soil, easily supplying their wants, and making them averse to labour, and the regularity and simplicity of their diet,§ may account for the

* This is another trait in which they strikingly resemble the Chinese, whose passion for these diversions is excessive, and the powers of their performers almost incredible. The ancient Mexicans seem hardly to have yielded, in dexterity and skill, to either.

† Orme, Hist. Frag. pp. 460—4.

‡ "The listless apathy and corporal weakness of the natives of Hindostan," Mr. Mill remarks, "have been ascribed to the climate under which they live. But other nations, subject to the influence of as warm a sun, are neither indolent nor weak; the Malays for example, the Arabians, the Chinese" Mill, vol. i. p. 412. The energetic Birman presents a still more striking instance.

§ "The extreme simplicity and lightness of the aliment used by the Hindoo, and the smallness of his consumption, must undoubtedly have been among the causes of the lightness and feebleness observable in his frame. His food consists almost entirely of rice, and his drink is water.....The demand of the American tribes

apathy and laziness of the Brahmins and lower classes; which is as remarkable as the industry and activity of the higher orders. The day of a Brahmin is passed in eating and sleeping, with very short intervals of religious worship. This, however, is the life only of a religious Brahmin, who lives on the fruit of his godliness. His character entirely changes when he interferes with the concerns of this world. He becomes more active, and joins with heart and soul in all the chicanery and knavery that go forward. And, as his power is superior, so he becomes the leading character among the corrupt.* But the laziness of the lowest classes is more particularly remarkable; and it is difficult to point out the immediate causes of it. It is impossible to rouse them, or even to excite in them a wish to look further than the day before them." But, "like the colliers and some other descriptions of labourers in Europe, the Bengalee will work hard three days, in order that he may sleep away the next three, or spend them at a *poojah.*

"If the Hindostanee, the Persian, or the Malay is insulted, he puts his hand to his sword, or, if restrained by circumstances, he at least meditates revenge; but the Bengalee submits to every abuse and degradation by which he is a gainer. There is here a wide difference between the character of the Bengalee and that of the natives of the Upper Provinces......In laying plans, and waiting for their result, they are possessed of the greatest coolness, patience, and perseverance; and the command they maintain over their

for food was very like that of the Hindoos in point of quantity."—Mill, vol. i. p. 410.

* "During five years," says Mr. Holwell, "that we presided in the judicial Court of Calcutta, never any murder or other atrocious crime came before us, in which it was not proved in the end, that a Brahmin was at the bottom of it."

temper and countenance, is wonderful. Seldom, indeed, can the Bengalee be put out of countenance or off his guard. To have their veracity called in question, or their honour impeached, has an immediate and violent effect on the people of most nations; but, where veracity and honour are alike unknown, we cannot wonder at the great endurance of the Bengalee in such situations, or even under violent abuse."...... "Even the worst of them" (it is, however, subsequently remarked) "have certainly some undefinable ideas of honour. Though they have very little regard to principle in general, and will mislead and defraud us in money transactions, and indeed in many other situations, yet, it is extraordinary, that, when received into our houses, and having the various articles, whether of money, jewels or plate, once made over to them in charge, there is no country, I believe, in the world, where fewer instances of dishonesty are found. I have reason, however, to think that this quality is decaying.

"A wide distinction is always to be drawn between the Hindoos of Bengal and the Hindoos of the Upper Provinces. The Bengalee is mean, insidious, cowardly, litigious: the other is independent, open, brave..... The Bengalees of all ranks are remarkable for their ingratitude*......In the management of their children among the lower classes, we may trace one great source of the early vicious habits which afterwards ripen into more determined guilt. Respect and awe for the orders of their parents are not taught them in their childhood; and it is not to be expected that, in their youth, when respect would throw a restraint on their pleasures, they will observe it. While very young, they remain under the care of women; but, as soon as they are

* See also Mill, vol. i. pp. 407—9.

able to run about, they pass their whole day in the streets and the bazars, learning and teaching every kind of mischief. Any one listening to the language of Bengalee boys while at their sports, would be astonished at the pitch at which they soon arrive in abuse and indecency. ....The Bengalees are severe and tyrannical to their women." According to the Shasters, "cutting green trees and killing women are equally criminal."*

How far this picture of the Bengalee character will apply to other tribes of Hindoos, this is not the place to inquire. Mr. Hastings affirmed before the House of Lords, in 1813, upon his oath, that the Hindoos, who form the great portion of the population, are "gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shewn to them, than prompted to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion as any people on the face of the earth. They are faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority. They are superstitious, it is true, but they do not think ill of us for not thinking as they do.† Gross as their modes of worship are, the precepts of their religion are *wonderfully fitted to promote the best ends*

* Tytler, vol. i. pp. 104; 274—7; 281—3; 287; 291; 298; 301; 262. After this unfavourable description of the Bengalees, the Author not very consistently enumerates as ranking among their virtues, "charity, temperance, mildness, hospitality, and affection," "regard and affectionate attention to their aged and poor relations," peaceableness of disposition, a temper "neither quarrelsome nor revengeful," and humanity to animals. We leave our readers to reconcile the discrepancy.

† Although the Hindoos have such enlightened ideas of religious toleration as not to think ill of the British for not worshipping Kali and the Lingam, yet, if Bishop Heber may be credited, many of them have learned to think better of us, since they have discovered, what was long industriously concealed from them, that the English have a religion and a shaster.—See page 83.

of society, its peace and good order.......Faults they certainly have; they are the lot of humanity: theirs are such only as can be supposed to subsist in the presence of so many opposite qualities. Among these, I have omitted to mention one, which is not a general, but a universal trait of their character; their temperance is demonstrated in the simplicity of their food, and their total abstinence from spirituous liquors and other substances of intoxication."*

As this representation is on several points at utter variance with the character of the Bengalees, and Mr. Hastings could not be ignorant of the fact, it must be inferred, that he did not mean to include in the description, the inhabitants of Bengal or the worshippers of Kali; although it is not a little singular, that he should give upon oath a testimony so unguarded and indefinite in its application.

Sir John Malcolm, in his evidence given before the House of Commons, in 1813, thus adverts to the difference of character which is exhibited by the various classes of Hindoos. "The character of the different classes of Hindoos, which compose a great proportion of the population of the subjects of the British Government in India, varies in different parts of that empire, perhaps, as much as, if not more than, the nations of Europe do from each other. Under the Bengal establishment, there are two descriptions of Hindoos, of a very distinct race. Below Patna, the race of Hindoos, called Bengalese, I consider to be weak in body and timid in mind, and to be in general marked by the accompaniments of timidity, which are fraud and servility. I think, as far as my observation went, this class appeared to diminish, both in their bodily

* Hansard's Parl. Deb., vol. xxv. p. 553, 4.

strength and mental qualities, as they approached the coast; and those below Calcutta, are, I think, in character and appearance, among the lowest of all our Hindoo subjects. But, from the moment that you enter the district of Bahar, or rather the district of Benares, throughout all the territories in that quarter subject to the Company and their dependent ally, the Nabob of Oude, and the Duab, the Hindoo inhabitants are a race of men, generally speaking, not more distinguished for their lofty stature, which rather exceeds that of Europeans, and their robust frame of body, which, in almost all, is inured to martial toil by exercises, (I speak more particularly of the Rajpoots, who form a considerable proportion of this population,) than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind. They are brave, generous, and humane; and their truth is as remarkable as their courage. The great proportion of the army of the Bengal establishment is composed of these men; and it is remarkable that there are few corporal punishments in that army, the slightest reproach being felt as the greatest punishment is among other nations.

"I have spoken more to the military class of the Hindoos, than to the others, because I am more acquainted with them; but, from all I ever heard of those who follow civil pursuits, it is much the same, allowing for the difference of the habits of life, as that of the Bengal sepoys.* On the coast of Coromandel, the Hindoo is a weaker man than the Rajpoot; but still, there are among them many classes who are highly respectable. On the other side of India, under the Presidency of Bombay, the Hindoos, inhabitants of Gujerat, are chiefly Mahrattas; and from all I have

* The Bengal sepoys are not Bengalees.

heard or seen of them, are much superior to the inhabitants that I have described along the coast of Bengal, and even to those along the coast of the Carnatic." *

It may be observed generally, that the opinions of our military officers with regard to the character of the Hindoos, are far more favourable than those of our Anglo-Indian civilians and magistrates. And this is easily accounted for.† The above testimony of Sir John Malcolm will help to reconcile, in some degree, the conflicting statements which have been advanced with regard to the Hindoo nations. The Bengalees, the Hindoos of the Upper Provinces, the Mahrattas, the Rajpoots, the Mysoreans, and the Tamul tribes, although united by a common religion, and receiving from their customs and institutions something of a family character, might be expected to differ not less widely than the different Catholic nations who are comprised under the name of Europeans; not less than the Portuguese from the Italian, the Spaniard from the Frenchman. If the Bengalees be a feebler race, and, owing to their political circumstances and other causes, the most degraded, it does not follow that they are the least capable of virtue. With regard to their moral condition, it would seem to be, at all events, not more

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxv. pp. 568, 9.

† The Hindoos make excellent soldiers, and the following statement will illustrate Mr. Hastings's panegyric on their religion. "The Hindoo artillery-man at all times regards the gun to which he is attached, as an object of superstitious reverence, and usually bestows upon it the name of some deity. During the *Doorga* festival, the cannon belonging to the army are painted, praised, invoked, and propitiated by every species of offering.... The adoration of the Hindoos appears to increase with the size of the gun." Sir John Malcolm, in Bombay Transactions, vol. iii. p. 82.

corrupt than that which the Abbé Dubois has, in his work on the Manners and Customs of the People of India, attributed to the natives at large. The Abbé resided chiefly in the Mysore, living among the Hindoos "as one of themselves;" and his authority has been appealed to as decisive by the enemies of Christian Missions. Whatever may be thought of his integrity by those who are aware of his subsequent tergiversation, the testimony contained in his first elaborate work, claims attention as collateral evidence of the correctness of the preceding statements.

"Provided that the Hindoo has just enough to support the vanity and extravagance of the day, he never reflects on the state of misery to which he will be reduced on the morrow, by his ostentatious and empty parade. He sees nothing but the present moment, and his thoughts never penetrate into an obscure futurity. From this want of foresight chiefly proceed the frequent and sudden revolutions in the fortunes of the Hindoos, and the rapid transitions from a state of luxury and the highest opulence, to the most abject wretchedness. They support such overpowering shocks of fortune, with much resignation and patience. But it would be erroneous to ascribe their tranquillity under such circumstances, to loftiness of spirit or magnanimity; for it is the want of sensibility alone that prevents their minds from being affected by the blessings or miseries of life. It was, probably, with an intention to make some impression on their unfeeling nature, and to stimulate their imagination, that their histories, whether sacred or profane, their worship, and their laws, are so replenished with extraordinary and extravagant conceits. We must also ascribe to their phlegmatic temper, more than to any perverseness of disposition, that want of attach-

ment and gratitude with which the Hindoos are justly reproached. No where is a benefit conferred, so quickly forgotten as among them. That sentiment which is roused in generous minds by the remembrance of favours received, is quite a stranger to the native of India." *

" 'What is a Brahman ?' I was one day asked, in a jocular way, by one of that caste, with whom I was intimately acquainted : 'he is an ant's nest of lies and impostures.' It is not possible to describe them better in so few words. All Hindoos are expert in disguising the truth ; but there is nothing in which the caste of Brahmins so much surpasses them all, as in the art of lying. It has taken so deep a root among them, that, far from blushing when detected in it, many of them make it their boast." † "In general, the reserve of the Hindoos, in all the circumstances of their lives, makes it very difficult to discover what is at the bottom of their hearts ; and the skill which they possess in counterfeiting what best suits their interest, takes away all confidence in their most solemn protestations." ‡

" One of the principal ties that bind human creatures together, the reverence we feel for those from whom we derive our existence, is almost wholly wanting among them. They fear their father while they are young, out of dread of being beaten ; but, from their tenderest years, they use bad language to the mother, and even strike her, without any apprehension. When the children are grown up, the father himself is no longer respected, and is generally reduced to an absolute submission to the will of his son, who becomes master of him and his house. It is very un-

* Manners and Customs, pp. 202, 3. † *Ib.* p. 177. ‡ *Ib.* p. 189.

common, in any caste whatever, to see fathers preserving their authority to the close of their lives. The young man always assumes the authority, and commands those who are the authors of his being." *

"The attachment between brothers and sisters, never very ardent, almost entirely disappears as soon as they are married. After that event, they scarcely ever meet, unless it be to quarrel. The ties of blood and relationship are thus too feeble to afford that strict union and that feeling of mutual support, which are required in a civilized state." †

"As no pains are taken to curb the passions of their indocile infants, their minds are left exposed to the first impressions that assail them, which are always of an evil tendency. From their earliest years, they are accustomed to scenes of impropriety, which, at such an age, might be supposed incapable of imprinting any image on their fancies; but it is nothing uncommon to see children of five or six years old, already become familiar with discourse and actions which would make modesty turn aside............It is superfluous to add, that, as they grow up, incontinence and its attendant vices increase with them. Indeed, the greater part of their institutions, religious and civil, appear to be contrived for the purpose of encouraging......the utmost dissoluteness of manners.‡

"The very extravagance of the Hindoo idolatry, the whole ritual of which is nothing less than the subversion of common sense, serves to give it a deeper root in the hearts of a people sensual, enthusiastic, and fond of the marvellous. Infatuated with their idols, they shut their ears to the voice of nature, which

* Manners and Customs, p. 190. † *Ib.* p. 21.

‡ *Ib.* pp. 190, 1. See also on this point of their manners, pp. 192—194; 134; 220; *et passim.*

cries so loudly against it. But the Hindoos are still more irresistibly attached to the species of idolatry which they have embraced, by their uniform pride, sensuality, and licentiousness. Whatever their religion sets before them, tends to encourage these vices; and, consequently, all their senses, passions, and interests are leagued in its favour. Interest also, that powerful engine which puts in motion all human things, is a principal support of the edifice of Hindoo idolatry. Those who are at the head of this extravagant worship, most of them quite conscious of its absurdity, are the most zealous in promoting its diffusion, because it affords them the means of living.*......The Brahmin lives but for himself. Bred in the belief that the whole world is his debtor, and that he himself is called upon for no return, he conducts himself in every circumstance of his life with the most absolute selfishness. The feeling of commiseration for the sufferings of others, never enters into his heart. He will see an unhappy being perish on the road, or even at his own gate, if belonging to another caste; and will not stir to help him to a drop of water, though it were to save his life." †

"The Hindoo has been bereft of his reason and understanding by his crafty religious guides. He cannot, in any circumstances, judge for himself, not even in his domestic concerns, or the most trifling occurrences. All is invariably ruled by his unchangeable institutions. Imparting or receiving knowledge is a crime; and listening for the purpose to any but his religious teachers, the Brahmins, is considered a heinous transgression. A Hindoo, and above all, a Brahmin, by his institutions, his usages, his education

* Manners and Customs, pp. 390, 1. † Ib. pp. 196, 7.

and customs, must be regarded as a kind of moral monster; an individual placed in a state of continual variance with the rest of mankind, with whom he is forbidden all free and confidential intercourse; nay, whom he is obliged to shun, to scorn, and to hate.

"The more I consider the principles and conduct of those leaders of the public opinion in India, the more I become persuaded that there is something preternatural in this caste of Hindoos; I am the more appalled and confounded by the subject; and I cannot account for it otherwise than by supposing, that, on account of their quite unnatural habits, they are lying under the Divine wrath and curse. I cannot help looking upon them as upon those false philosophers of whom Paul speaks (Rom. i.), 'who, professing themselves wise, are become fools;' whom, for having perverted their own reason, and that of others, 'God gave over to a reprobate mind.'" *

To relieve the darkness of this picture drawn by the Romish Missionary, we shall introduce the more pleasing terms in which the amiable Bishop of Calcutta speaks of both the country of Bengal and its natives. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind, that the one professedly gives the result of a residence of twenty-five years in India; the other speaks from the observation of a few months.

"On the whole, they are a lively, intelligent, and interesting people. Of the upper classes, a very considerable proportion learn our language, read our books and our newspapers, and shew a desire to court our society†....Every day offers instances of the vivacity of these fellows (the boatmen), who are, in fact, always

* Letters on Christianity in India, by the Same, pp. 99, 100, 103. See also, *ib.* 104, 112, 160.

† Heber, vol. iii. p. 261.

chattering, singing, laughing, or playing with each other. Yet, I have met many people in Calcutta, who gravely complain of the apathy and want of vivacity in the natives of India. My own observation, both of these men and of the peasants and fishermen whom we passed, is of a very different character. They are active, lively, gossiping, and laborious enough when they have any motive to stimulate them to exertion." *......" Their own religion is, indeed, a horrible one; far more so than I had conceived. It gives them no moral precepts; it encourages them in vice by the style of its ceremonies and the character given of its deities; and, by the institution of caste, it hardens their hearts against each other to a degree which is often most revolting.......Many of the crimes which fall under the cognizance of the magistrates, and many of the ancient and sanctified customs of the Hindoos, are marked with great cruelty. The *decoits*, who are common all over the country, though they seldom attack Europeans, continually torture the peasants to force them to bring out their little treasures......I need say nothing of the burning of widows; but it is not so generally known, that persons now alive remember *human sacrifices* near Calcutta. A very respectable man of my acquaintance, himself, by accident and without the means of interfering, witnessed one of a boy of fourteen or fifteen, in which nothing was so terrible as the perfect indifference with which the tears, prayers, and caresses even which the poor victim lavished on his murderers, were regarded. After this, it is hardly worth while to go on to shew that crimes of rapine, and violence, and theft are very common. But what I would chiefly

* Heber, vol. i. p. 176.

urge, is, that, for all these horrors, their system of religion is mainly answerable; inasmuch as whatever moral lessons their sacred books contain, are shut up from the mass of the people, while the direct tendency of their institutions is to evil. The national temper is decidedly good, gentle, and kind; they are sober, industrious, affectionate to their relations; generally speaking, faithful to their masters; easily attached by kindness and confidence; and in the case of the military oath, are of admirable obedience, courage, and fidelity in life and death.* But their morality does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations; and where these do not exist, they are oppressive, cruel, treacherous, and every thing that is bad." †

"Such as they are, however, I am far from disliking them......And I still am inclined to think some parts of the country the most beautiful,—I am sure it is the most fertile, and, to a European, the most novel and exotic district which I have yet seen in India......Some of those twilight walks, after my boat was moored, wanted only society to make them delightful; when, amid the scent and glow of night-blowing flowers, the soft whisper of waving palms, and the warbling of the nightingale; watching the innumerable fire-flies, like airy glow-worms, floating, rising, and sinking, in the gloom of the bamboo woods; and gazing on the mighty river with the unclouded breadth of a tropical moon sleeping on its surface, I felt in my heart, it is good to be here." ‡

The area of Bengal and Bahar is computed at 149,217 square miles; of which, one-eighth is occupied with

* Here, the Bishop of course speaks from hearsay, as he could have no opportunity of knowing either their fidelity or their courage; and in reference to the Bengalees, he was mistaken.

† Heber, vol. iii. pp. 261—4. ‡ *Ib.* pp. 316, 317.

rivers and lakes, one-sixth is deemed irreclaimable and barren, and three-eighths are under cultivation. Major Rennell estimates the area of Bengal at 97,244 square miles; but this includes that portion of Tiperah which is independent, as well as the Sunderbunds and other wastes. In length, including Midnapoor, it may be estimated at 350 miles, and its average breadth at 300.* Its ancient name, Abulfazel says, was *Bung.*† The parts liable to annual inundations, we are told by another authority, were called *Beng*, "whence, probably, the name which we give to the whole province. The higher parts were called *Barendra.*"‡ Major Rennell supposes the province to have taken its name from a city called Bangalla, or Bangga, not far from Dacca.§ Its more ancient name is said to have been *Gangaridas.*‖

* Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 1—3. Rennell, cxiii.

† "It derived the additional *al* (or *aleh*) from that being the name given to the mounds of earth which the ancient rajahs caused to be raised in the low lands at the foot of the hills: their breadth was usually twenty cubits, and their height ten cubits."—Ayeen Akbary, vol. ii. p. 4.

‡ Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 102. During the *Adisur* dynasty, prior to the Mohammedan conquest, Bengal is said to have been divided into six provinces: *viz.*, *Gour*, the central division and capital; *Barendra*, to the N. of the Padma, and E. of the Mahananda; *Bangga*, eastward from the Kortoya towards the Brahmapootra; *Bagri*, or the Delta, called also *Dwipa*, the island; *Rarhi*, bounded by the Hooghly and the Padma on the N. and E.; and *Maithila*, bounded by the Bhagarathi on the S., and Gour on the E.—Hamilton, vol. i. p. 114. The last of these, however, is in Bahar.

§ "In some ancient maps and books of travels, we meet with a city named Bengalla; but no traces of such a place now exist. It is described as being near the eastern mouth of the Ganges; and I conceive that the site of it has been carried away by the river, as, in my remembrance, a vast tract of land has disappeared thereabouts. Bengalla appears to have been in existence during the early part of the last century."—Rennell, p. 57.

‖ See vol. i. p. 107.

Gour, its most ancient capital, is supposed to have taken its name from a word signifying sugar, the indigenous production of Bengal. When scarcely known to the ancient inhabitants of Europe, the precious cane grew luxuriantly throughout Bengal, whence it was introduced into Arabia. From this country also indigo derives its name ; the other staple productions are silk, cotton, and tobacco.

Bahar, which takes its name from its former capital, appears to have been anciently divided between two independent sovereignties ; that of Magadha in Southern Bahar, and that of Maithila (Tirhoot) north of the Ganges, which for about thirty miles forms the boundary between Tirhoot and Boglipoor. The district of Bahar, which lies to the east of Boglipoor, occupies the central portion of the province : it is about 120 miles in length, and 80 miles at its greatest width, and comprises a territory of 5358 square miles. In 1811, the population of this district, exclusive of the Patna jurisdiction, was estimated by Dr. F. Buchanan at 2,755,150 ; of whom 724,159 were Mohammedans, being nearly a fourth.*

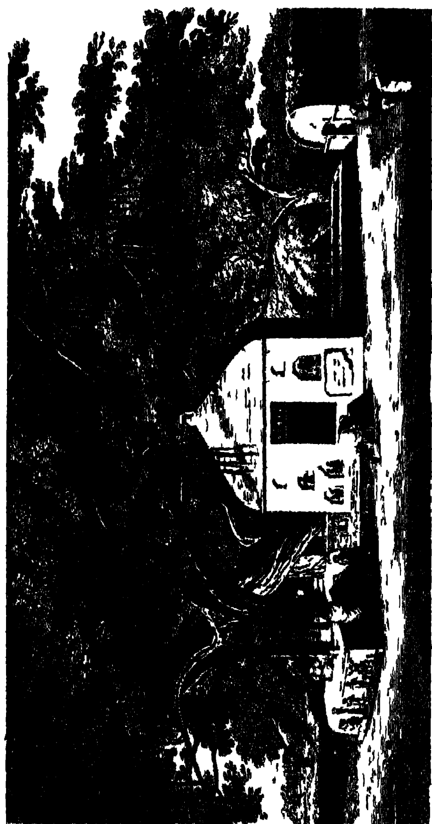
The city of Bahar, once the capital of the whole province, has long declined from its former importance. It is described as "a large scattered place, surrounding the ditch of an ancient city, now in a great degree deserted." The most compact part is a long, narrow bazar, roughly paved, and of miserable appearance. Intermixed with the hovels are some brick houses, and there are some mosques of tolerable architecture, but in a ruinous condition. In the time of Aliverdi Khan, Bahar was sacked by the Mahrattas ; and the famine of 1770, completed the ruin of the place. It

* Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 254–258.

still contains, however, about 5000 families, and a factory, dependent on the opium-agent at Patna, from which it is distant 35 miles S.E.*

The more modern capital of Bahar, and one of the most interesting places in the province, is Gaya, the chosen residence of Buddha Gaudama, situated 55 miles S. of Patna. The old town stands on a rocky eminence, between a hill and the Phalgu or Fulgo river, the channel of which, where free from islands, is about 500 yards broad. When filled by the rains, the river rushes past the city with tremendous noise and velocity. The "holy part" of it, which extends about half a mile, is said occasionally to flow with milk; probably from being charged with a chalky deposite: the whole stream is noted for its sanctity. The old town is described as a "strange-looking place." The architecture of the houses, which are chiefly of brick or stone, is very singular, with corners, turrets, and galleries projecting with the greatest possible irregularity. The streets are narrow, crooked, uneven, and encumbered with large blocks of stone or projecting angles of rock. The reflection of the sun's rays from the rocks with which it is encompassed, and from t parched sands of the Phalgu, render the place extremely hot; and in spring, it is incommoded by perpetual clouds of dust. In the plain below, is the modern suburb of Sahebgunge, which was much enlarged and ornamented by Mr. Law. Here reside the few Europeans settled at this station. The streets are wide, perfectly straight, and planted with a double row of trees. The two towns contain nearly 7000 houses; but, besides the resident population, the

* Hamilton, p. 204. The name is said to be taken from *Vihar*, "a monastery of Buddhists."



pilgrims and strangers attracted to this sacred spot, often amount to several thousands.*

The ruins of Buddha Gaya are situated in an extensive plain, a few hundred yards from the Nilayan river, which, by its junction with another torrent, the Mahana, forms the Phalgu. They now consist mostly of irregular and shapeless heaps of brick and stone. The number of images scattered all round this place to a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, is astonishing; "yet, they all appear to have belonged to the great temple or its vicinity, and to have been carried thence to different places." The most remarkable modern edifice is a convent of *sannyasies*. This appears to have been at one time the metropolis of Buddhism; † but none of that sect are now to be found in the vicinity. Here, as elsewhere, the votaries of Mahadeva have obtained the ascendancy over the disciples of the royal philosopher of Benares; and the sanctity of Gaya, according to the Brahminical legends, is owing to the victory obtained here by Vishnoo, over an *asoor* named Gaya. The *Gayawals*, or priests of Gaya, have the character of being pre-eminently ignorant, dissolute, and extortionate; and the British Government is unhappily disgraced by a partnership in their infamous gains.‡ —We now resume our voyage up the Ganges.

* Hamilton, vol. i. p. 264. We greatly regret that we are unable to furnish a more particular description of this interesting city.

† See MOD. TRAV. Birmah, pp. 98—102. Gaudama is believed to have flourished in the sixth century before the Christian era; and the overthrow of the last Buddhic dynasty is supposed to have taken place about 300 years B. C.

‡ Hamilton, vol. i. p. 265. "The British Government has an agent at Gaya, who levies a tax on each pilgrim according to the magnitude of the ceremonies he means to perform." In 1811, the number of pilgrims who obtained licenses, exceeded 31,000. They are chiefly Bengalees and Mahrattas.

On the 16th, the Bishop left Monghyr, and early on the fourth day, reached Patna. Near the place where he moored on the 16th, was the first field of barley that he had seen in India. The ground, which appeared to be a sand-bank recovered from the river, was full of monstrous ant-hills, looking at a distance like large hay-cocks. Both ants and cockroaches are a great plague in this part, and the lizard performs a useful service in diminishing their numbers. Near the mooring-place, a very large crocodile swam close to the boat, not of a black and dusky colour, like those in the lower country, but "covered with stripes of yellow and brownish black, like the body of a wasp, with scales very visibly marked, and a row of small tubercles along the ridge of his back and tail." At the village where the Bishop stopped the next evening, there were some Brahmins ploughing, their strings flowing over their naked shoulders. "The ground was sown with rice, barley, and vetches; the one to succeed the other. Abdullah asked them, to what caste of Brahmins they belonged, and, on being told they were Pundits, inquired, whether a mixture of seeds was not forbidden in the Puranas? An old man answered with a good deal of warmth, that they were poor people, and could not dispute, but he believed the doctrine to be a gloss of Bhuddh, striking his staff with much anger on the ground at the name of the heresiarch." The next day, two novel circumstances struck the Bishop's notice; one was the appearance of considerable herds of swine, of a small kind resembling the Chinese breed, near most of the villages; the other, a system of planting *tara* palms in the docked trunks of decayed peepul-trees, which are thus made to form an excellent fence or "rude flower-pot" for the young plant. "I conclude," remarks

the Bishop, "that they are not Hindoos who thus mangle and violate the sacred tree of Siva." On the third night, the halting-place was on a pleasant open shore, well cultivated and populous, opposite Futwa; "a large and ancient town, on a river for which the people seem to have no other name than *Futwa kee nuddee.*" This place is "famous for a very long and handsome old bridge, (an object of some rarity in India,) and a college of Mussulman law and divinity, the *moulavies* of which are widely renowned."

PATNA.

The Bishop was compelled to hurry past the ancient city which Major Rennell somewhat too confidently pronounces to be clearly the Palibothra of Pliny. He therefore saw it only from the river, in which direction it has, at a little distance, a very striking appearance; "being full of large buildings with remains of old walls and towers, and bastions projecting into the river, with the advantage of a high, rocky shore, and considerable irregularity and elevation of the ground behind it. On a nearer approach, we find, indeed, many of the houses whose verandahs and terraces are striking objects at a distance, to be ruinous; but still, in this respect, and in apparent prosperity, it as much exceeds Dacca, as it falls short of it in the beauty and grandeur of its ruins.*......At

* "About Patna, there is a rich colouring of decay, rather than antiquity. The walls, towers, &c., are of brick. Many lofty houses, having terraced roofs and balconies, have been plastered; but the *chunam*, black, dull, and in parts falling off, leaves the brick building naked. All this, reflected at sun-set in the smooth waters, made a fine picture; with the still-life beauties of which, busy groupes at all the ghauts and in the balconies, and wealthier natives seated on carpets and cushions, smoking and conversing, happily contrasted."—Sketches of India, p. 162.

the eastern extremity is a large wood of palms and fruit-trees; the gardens belong to a summer-palace built and planted by the Nawab Jaffier Ali Khan. They are renowned for their beauty and extent, being two or three miles in circuit." There is a large and dilapidated palace, the residence of the late Nawab of Patna. The houses of the rich natives resemble pretty much those of Calcutta, but with the advantage of immediately abutting on the river. One which attracted the Bishop's attention had, "beneath its Corinthian superstructure, a range of solid buildings of the Eastern Gothic, with pointed arches and small windows, containing a suite of apartments almost on a level with the water, which must be coolness itself during the hot winds. The continued mass of buildings extends about four miles along the river, when it changes into scattered cottages and bungalows, interspersed with trees, till some larger and more handsome buildings appear about three miles further. This is Bankipoor, where are the Company's opium-warehouses, courts of justice, &c., and where most of their civil servants live."

Lord Valentia visited Patna from Bankipoor, but he has dismissed it with a very brief notice. "It is one continued street the whole way, and the population appears to be very great. The houses, in general, are of mud; and there are few remains that indicate the capital of Bahar. In a gateway, I observed some very black stone most beautifully carved, which had probably been taken from an ancient pagoda. There are the remains of a fort, and of the British factory where the massacre of 200 prisoners was perpetrated by the adventurer Sommers, called by the natives Soomeroo, then in the service of Meer Cossim, who thus revenged himself for the capture of

Monghyr. A monument, but without an inscription, is erected to their memory in the European burying-ground." *

In point of populousness, Patna now ranks before either Delhi or Agra; the number of its stationary inhabitants being estimated, in 1811, at 312,000, of whom 97,000 were Moslems, and 214,500 Hindoos. Besides which, there is a considerable fluctuating population.† The Seiks have here a place of worship, held in great repute, and several families of Armenians have long been resident at Patna. The Romish Christians consist of about twenty Portuguese families, who have a church, the handsomest in the place. The Patna merchants carry on a large portion of the Nepaul trade, exporting broad-cloth, muslins, silks, and spices, and receiving in exchange, bees-wax, gold-dust, bull-tails, musk, woollen cloth named *tush*, and some medicinal herbs. A number of native Nepaul merchants reside here; and, in 1811, there were twenty-four bankers, who discounted all bills payable either at Patna or at Calcutta, Benares, and Moorshedabad. Some of them had also agents at Lucknow and Dacca; one had an agent in Nepaul; and the house of Juggeth Seth had agents at Bombay and Madras. There are also manufactures at Patna, of chintzes, dimities, and cloths resembling diaper and damask. Yet, "it was remarked by the magistrates,

* Valentia, vol. i. p. 65. See page 84 of our second volume. Bernoulli is not less concise in his account of Patna.

† According to Dr. F. Buchanan, in 1811, it was estimated to contain 52,000 houses, of which 7117 were of brick, 11,639 of two stories with mud walls and tiled roofs, 22,188 mud-walled huts, tiled, and the remainder thatched huts. In the returns made to the Governor General's inquiries in 1801, 2, the population of the whole Patna district was stated at only 250,000, the Mohammedans being as one to ten.

in 1801, that no new religious buildings of any sect were constructing, while the old ones were going rapidly to decay."* The aggregate population of the Patna city and district, comprehending a territory of 403 square miles, was estimated, in 1811, at 199,745 Mohammedans and 409,525 Hindoos; total 609,270.†

Near Bankipoor, which may be considered as a suburb of Patna, there is a curious high building in the shape of a bee-hive or glass-house, with a stair winding round its outside up to the top, "like the old prints of the Tower of Babel," which may be ascended on horseback. It was built as a granary for the district, after a great famine about five-and-thirty years ago, but was never applied to this use. The idea was, to pour the corn in at the top, and take it out through a small door at the bottom; but, "by a refinement in absurdity, the door at the bottom is made to open inwards; and consequently, when the granary was full, could never have been opened at all." It is now occasionally used as a powder-magazine, but Bishop Heber found it quite empty. It is only visited sometimes for the sake of its echo, which is very favourable to performances on the flute or bugle.‡ The Ganges at Bankipoor, is five miles wide in the rainy season, but recedes to two miles distance in the dry

* Hamilton, vol. i. p. 262.

† *Ib.* p. 262. If this be correct, the returns of 1801, 2, must be grossly erroneous, the population being stated at less than half the number, and the Mohammedans as one to ten.

‡ Heber, vol. i. p. 317. "The walls at the bottom, although twenty-one feet thick, have given way; a circumstance of very little consequence, as, were it filled, (which it never was,) it would not contain one day's consumption for the inhabitants of the province. It originally cost 20,000 rupees."—Hamilton's Gazatteer, Valentia, vol. i. p. 64.

season, and is then scarcely visible, there being only some small *nullahs* in the intervening space, which is then cultivated with rice and oats. This is by no means, however, a rice country, the chief produce being opium. The cotton plant (*gossypium*), the castor-oil-plant (*ricinus communis*), and indigo are also cultivated.

Seven miles from Bankipoor is the great military station of Dinapoor. The whole way lies between scattered bungalows, bazars, and other buildings, interspersed with gardens and mango-groves. "As we approached Dinapoor," says Bishop Heber, "symptoms began to appear of a great English military station; and it was whimsical to see peeping out from beneath the palms and plantains, large blue boards with gilt letters—'Digah Farm, Havell, victualler,' &c.; 'Morris, tailor;' 'Davis, Europe warehouse,' &c. The cantonment itself is the largest and handsomest which I have seen, with a very fine quay, looking like a battery, and three extensive squares of barracks, uniformly built, of one lofty ground-story, well raised, stuccoed, and ornamented with arcaded windows and pillars between each. There are also extensive barracks for the native troops, which I did not see; those which I have described being for Europeans, of whom there are generally here, one King's regiment, one Company's, and a numerous corps of artillery." * Beyond Dinapoor is a handsome house, built by Saadut Ali, while residing under the Company's protection, before his elevation to the *musnud.*

About thirty-two miles W.N.W. of Patna, is

* Heber, vol. i. p. 321. "Every thing, in fact," adds the Bishop, "is on a liberal scale, except what belongs to the church and the spiritual interests of the inhabitants and the neighbourhood.

Chuprah, the chief town of the Sarun district, situated on the northern bank of the Ganges; "or rather on an arm of the river, divided from the main stream by some marshy islands." It contains "a good many large, handsome native houses, and a very pretty pagoda and ghaut." In the course of the day's voyage, the Bishop "overtook a number of vessels, two of them of a curious and characteristic description. One was a budgerow pretty deeply laden, with a large blue board on its side, like that of an academy in England, inscribed, 'Goods for Sale on Commission;' being, in fact, strictly a floating shop, which supplied all the smaller stations with what its owners would probably call '*Europe* articles.' The other was a more elegant vessel of the same kind, being one of the prettiest pinnaces I ever saw, with an awning spread over the quarter-deck, under which sat a lady and two gentlemen reading, and looking so comfortable that I could have liked to join their party. I found that it was the floating shop of a wealthy tradesman at Dinapoor, who, towards the middle of the rains, always sets out in this manner with his wife, to make the tour of the Upper Provinces, as high as his boat can carry; ascending, alternate years, or as he finds most custom, to Agra, Meerut, or Lucknow, by their respective rivers, and furnishing glass, cutlery, perfumery, &c., to the mountaineers of Deyra Doon, and the *zennanas* of Runjeet Singh and Sindeah. We passed, in the course of this day, the mouths of no fewer than three great rivers falling into the Ganges from different quarters; the Soane from the south and the mountains of Gundwana, the Gunduch from Nepaul, and the Dewah from (I believe) the neighbourhood of Almorah.* Each of

* The Deva, Goggra, or Sarju river, flowing from Kumaoon.

the three is larger and of longer course than the Thames or the Severn. What an idea does this give us of the scale on which Nature works in these countries!"*

Buxar, the next place in ascending the river, is remarkable chiefly as the scene of the victory which confirmed the British in the peaceable possession of Bengal and Bahar.† It is a "large and respectable Mussulman town, with several handsome mosques, a very neat and large bazar, and some good-looking European bungalows." The fort, though of inconsiderable size, commands the river. "It was originally only of mud; but, on being taken possession of by the English, stone bastions were ingeniously added, without a proper foundation. Their weight has consequently brought them down to the bottom of the ditch."‡ Bishop Heber says, "it might stand a siege of some length from a native army; and its situation on the Ganges in its nearest approach to the Ghorka territories, might make such a defence by no means unimportant, in the event of a rupture with those mountaineers. It is this possibility, indeed, which now constitutes the principal value of the great stations of Dinapoor and Ghazeepoor." He found at Buxar a garrison of 600 men, including 150 Europeans, without church or chaplain. The Church Missionary Society have established schools here, under a Mussulman convert named Kurreem Maseeh, who presides as catechist. A chapel and a room for a Missionary's residence, are about to be erected.

A little to the S.W. of Buxar is a large town with

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 329, 30.

† See p. 85, of our second volume.

‡ Valentia, vol. i. p. 67. When his Lordship travelled, the guns were all removed, and there was not "a single fortified place between Calcutta and Allahabad, a distance of 800 miles."

some neat mosques and the remains of a fort, named Chowsar; and a little further, is the mouth of a considerable river flowing from the south, the Caramnasa, which here forms the boundary between the provinces of Bahar and Allahabad. This, till the administration of Warren Hastings, who pushed on the border to Benares, was the extreme limit of the Company's territories.

Ghazeepoor has, from the river, a very striking appearance; "although," remarks the Bishop, "like all the Indian cities I have passed, its noblest buildings, on approaching them, turn out to be ruins. At the eastern extremity is a very handsome but ruined palace built by Saadut Ali; its verandahs are really magnificent." It is now used as a custom house. At the other extremity of the town, and separated from it by gardens and scattered cottages, are the houses of the civil servants of the Company. Beyond these is the cantonment, consisting of low, ugly bungalows with sloping roofs of red tile, but deriving some advantage from being intermingled with trees; "very different from the stately but naked barracks of Dinapoor." The monument to Lord Cornwallis, who died here on his way up the country, forms a conspicuous object: "it has a white dome like a pepper-pot," and though of costly materials, is in the most execrable taste. "Above all," remarks the Bishop, "the building is utterly unmeaning; it is neither a temple nor a tomb, and has neither altar, statue, nor inscription."

There are the remains of an old castle here, now reduced to little more than a high green mound, scattered with ruins, and overhung with some fine trees. A fine Gothic gateway, of excellent stone, and still in good repair, leads to the old palace; the interior of

which presents some beautiful specimens of architecture. "The banqueting-house is a very striking and beautiful building in the form of a cross, open every way, and supported by a multitude of pillars and arches, erected on an under story of an octagonal form. Its south-eastern side abuts immediately on a terrace rising from the river; the four projections of the cross seem calculated to answer the double purpose of shading the octagonal centre and giving room for the attendants, music, &c.; and the double line round the centre is a deep trench, which used to be filled, we are told, with rose-water, when the Nawâb and his friends were feasting in the middle, which still shews the remains of a beautiful blue, red, and white mosaic pavement. It is now used as a warehouse to the custom-house; and the men with swords and shields who yet mount guard there, are the police peons. The building is, however, in a rapid state of decay, though it might still be restored, and, as a curious and beautiful object, is really worth restoring."

Ghazeepoor is celebrated throughout India for the wholesomeness of its air,* and the beauty and extent of its rose-gardens. The elevated level on which it stands, and the dryness of its soil, which never retains the moisture, may account for both circumstances; and another advantage of the situation is, that it has a noble reach of the river to the S.W., from which quarter the hot winds generally blow. The rose-fields occupy many hundred acres: they are cultivated for distillation.† The whole district is fertile in pasture,

* "The English regiments removed hither from the other stations," Bishop Heber says, "have always found their number of deaths diminish from the Indian to the European *ratio*."

† The *attar* is obtained after the rose-water is made, by setting it out during the night till sun-rise, in large open vessels, and then skimming off the essential oil which floats at the top. The rose-

corn, and fruit-trees. The population is great; and the mosques and the moslems in the shops and streets are so numerous, while few pagodas of any importance are visible, that the Bishop began to imagine that he had bidden adieu for a time to the votaries of Brahminism. It is only in the large towns, however, that the Mohammedans are predominant. Mr. Melville, the magistrate, informed the Bishop, that, taking the whole province together, they were barely an eleventh part of the population,* among the remainder of whom Hindooism exists in all its strength and bigotry. The last yearly return of *suttees* within the district, had amounted to above forty; a certain indication of the profligate habits of the lower orders, who, we are told, "have been noted, from time immemorial, for their turbulent and refractory spirit, and have always required the strong hand of power to retain them in any degree of subordination to the laws."† Ghazeepoor is forty-one miles N.E. from Benares.

At Zermineeh, a little above Ghazeepoor, the river is perilously rapid, and progress becomes impossible without a westerly wind or towing. The banks are high, steep, and crumbling. Bishop Heber, after

water which is thus skimmed, bears a lower price than that which is warranted with the cream; but there is little perceptible difference. "To produce one rupee's weight of *attar*, 200,000 well-grown roses are required. The price, even on the spot, is extravagant, a rupee's weight being sold in the bazar (where it is often adulterated with sandal-wood) for 80 sicca rupees; and at the English warehouse, where it is warranted genuine, at 100 sicca rupees or 10*l*." Mr. Melville told Bishop Heber, however, that the prime cost of that trifling quantity, without reckoning the labour of his servants, amounted to half that sum.

* According to Hamilton, the total population of Allahabad province exceeds seven millions, (it is nearly eight,) and there are eight Hindoos to one Mohammedan.

† Hamilton, vol. i. p. 310.

advancing with difficulty a few miles, resolved to proceed to Benares, distant twenty-four miles, by *dawk*.* The road lay within sight of the Ganges, through a fertile and populous country, with a good deal of fine timber; the cultivation chiefly of millet, maize, and pulse. At eight miles is Seidpoor, "a little country town, with verandahed ranges of shops on each side; the houses, generally of one story, built of clay, with red tile roofs, and extremely projecting eaves: there are a little old mosque and a pagoda, both of stone." Four miles further is a ferry over the Goomty, at this season a considerable river. The last stage lay chiefly through a wide avenue of tall trees. The Bishop left Benares considerably to the left, in order to reach the house of the British Resident at Secrole, "the English Benares."

BENARES.

THIS celebrated city, which claims, for its titles, the appellations of the holy and the splendid, takes its modern name of Benares or Baranas (in Sanscrit *Varanashi*), from two rivers, the Vara and the Nashi †, between which it stands. In ancient books, it is called *Kasi* (the splendid), under which name it is still known to the natives. Its geographical position is in lat. 25° 30′ N., long. 83° 1′ E. The Ganges here forms a fine sweep about four miles in length; and on the external side of the curve, which is the more elevated shore, stands the city, built down to the water's edge, "in the form of a bow," the river, according to the fancy of Abulfazel, resembling the bow-string. It has been, from

* By post; that is, by bearers.

† Abulfazel calls them the Birnah and the Assey, and writes the name of the town Baranassey.

remote times, the chief seat of Brahminical learning, and is deemed so holy, that several Hindoo rajahs have houses here, in which their *vakeels* reside, in order to perform, as their proxies, the requisite sacrifices and ablutions. The resident inhabitants amounted, in 1803, to upwards of 585,000; but the concourse during some of the festivals, is beyond all calculation. The Brahmins claiming and receiving alms, amount to between seven and eight thousand. The Mohammedans are not one in ten.*

"The very first aspect of Benares is fine, and when," says the Author of the Sketches, "you come opposite to one of its central ghauts, very striking. It extends about four miles along the northern bank of the river, which makes here a bold, sweeping curve. Its buildings, which are crowded, built of stone or brick, and uniquely lofty; its large ghauts, with long and handsome flights of steps; here and there, the sculptured pyramidal tops of small pagodas; one mosque, with its gilded dome glittering in the sun-beam, and two minars towering one above the other, form a grand and imposing *coup d'œil.*

"The city is only to be visited on horseback, or in a palankeen or *tonjon* (a sort of open sedan chair); as thus only can you leisurely survey every thing, from the extreme narrowness of the streets, and the crowds

* Valentia, vol. i. p. 78. A very curious account is given in the Appendix, of the population of Benares, divided into classes. The number of stone and brick houses, from one to six stories high, in 1801, was upwards of 12,000; mud-built houses with tiled roofs, upwards of 16,000; Huts composed of straw and tiles, 1325; garden-houses, 179; total, 29,935. The average number of inhabitants of each house rose with the number of stories. Thus, to houses of one story high, fifteen is assigned as the average; to houses of six stories, 150 inhabitants; to the straw huts, four: total, 582,625. Besides these, the attendants of three princes then resident at Benares, and other foreigners, were computed at 3000.

in them, through whom your way must be cleared by a police trooper in your front. In the heart of this strange city, you are borne through a labyrinth of lanes, with houses of six or seven stories high on each side, communicating with each other above, in some places, by small bridges thrown across the street. These houses are of stone or brick, and many of them are painted either in plain colours or stripes, or with representations of the Hindoo deities. Every bazaar or street containing shops, you find a little, and but a little, wider than the others. Shops here stand in distinct and separate streets, according to their goods and trades. In one, all are embroiderers in muslin, which they work here in gold and silver most beautifully; in another, silk merchants; in the next, mere lapidaries. Several contiguous streets are filled entirely with the workmen in brass, who make the small brazen idols; also the various urns, dishes, lamps, which the Hindoos require either for domestic or sacred purposes. These shops make a very bright and showy display; and, from the ancient forms, various sizes, and patterns of their vessels, attract your attention strongly. You meet numbers of the naked officiating Brahmins, indeed; but you also see here a distinct class of wealthy Brahmins, most richly dressed in fine muslin turbans, vests of the most beautiful silks, and valuable shawls. Their conveyances out of the city are the open native palanquins, with crimson canopies, or hackrees, sometimes very handsome, and drawn by two showy horses, with long flowing manes.

" He who has looked upon the pagodas of the South of India, is quite surprised to find those of Benares so few in number, so small and inconsiderable. The principal one is covered with much beautiful sculpture,

representing fancy flower and wreath borderings. I went into it. During the whole time I remained, there was a constant succession of worshippers; for, except on festivals, they visit the temples at any time they please or find convenient. This temple is dedicated to Mahadeva, and has several altars, with lingams of large size and beautiful black marble. It has two fine statues of the bull of Siva *couchant;* and, small as the temple was, three or four Brahminy bulls were walking about it, stopping in the most inconvenient places. All the floor was one slop, from the water used at the offerings; and the altars, shrines, &c. were quite covered with flowers, glistening with the waters of the Ganges. The only thing in the temple which was to me novel, was a small representation in brass, of Surya, the Indian Apollo, standing up in his car, and drawn by a seven-headed horse. The arched crests and eager bend of their necks, were exceedingly well executed. It appeared to me to stand neglected in the temple, and none of the priests seemed to have any feeling of particular interest about it. In an open space at the back of this temple, and connected with it, is a small building, containing a well of some peculiar sanctity, for its waters were sold. Here, rather an uncommon scene presented itself. On one side of this irregular square was a mosque, rather a fine one, no longer resorted to for worship, but used as a sort of caravanserai. A few Mussulmans were lounging in it. The other sides of this open spot were formed by the gable ends of lofty houses, dead walls, and street-heads. Two or three trees grew round the well, which stood in front, and to the right of the mosque. Under the shade of a dead wall, a little to the rear and right of the well, leaned or sat half-a-dozen Mahratta horsemen, holding their lean, ill-conditioned,

jaded steeds by the bridle. They were the escort of some Mahratta chief, come hither ostensibly to pay their vows; but, although they were armed with shield and sword, spear and matchlock, there was, to my eye, an unnecessarily affected meanness and poverty in their condition......Near the sacred well sat one of those fat, bloated, unwieldy Brahmins, looking at once proud and stupid; a very fit, pitiless, and unyielding guardian of these highly-prized waters, which may be, in truth, styled golden. He asked me for alms: I told him laughingly, that he was too fat to beg, and I too lean to give them. Perfectly in character with the moss-troopers of Walter Scott, was the grin of my Mahratta friends, as they caught my reply; and the contemptuous jokes and lawless looks with which they appeared to speak of and regard this Brahmin, and a groupe of others coming up at the moment, shewed that piety had little share in their long journey to the temple of Benares; in the spoil of which city they would hesitate very little to join. The plunder-seeking man in arms, who, scorning the control of discipline, follows the chief he likes best, is, and has ever been, the same creature; whether galloping with the descendants of Esau in the deserts of Arabia; ranging the forests of Germany, the Apennine hills, the Sierra Morena, or the wilder Albania, with fearless banditti; devastating the plains of the Deccan with Pindarry chieftains; or, as in times past, riding forays on the Border.

"I made my way hence, through long crowded streets, to the famous mosque built by Aurungzebe in the very heart of the city, on the site and with the materials of their proudest pagoda, to commemorate the triumphs of the crescent. From its lofty minar,

you overlook the city with many of the advantages possessed by the famous Asmodeus." *

This mosque is said to have been built by Aurungzebe, to mortify the Hindoos. "Not only," says Lord Valentia, "is it placed on the highest point of land, and most conspicuous from being close to the river; but the foundations are laid on a sacred spot, where a temple before stood, which was destroyed to make room for it. This edifice violated the holy city, and proudly overlooked all the temples, and, what was perhaps more galling, all the terraces of the houses, where the females were accustomed to enjoy the cool of the morning and evening. The minars are light and elegant: so light is one of them, that it is not safe to ascend it, and, probably, in a very short space, it will be as low as the house of Timour. From the top of the other, is a very extensive view of the town and adjacent country. I satisfied myself with ascending to the roof of the mosque, whence I overlooked the whole of the town and the river, with the thousand inhabitants bathing on its banks. A little stone temple, dedicated to Maha-deva, displays its trident at an humble height, close to the side of the crescent at the summit of the minars; no unfit emblem of the state of the two religions, previously to the establishment of British power." †

For a still more minute and very spirited description of this extraordinary capital, we are indebted to Bishop Heber.

"Benares," remarks his Lordship, "is a very remarkable city, more entirely and characteristically Eastern than any which I have yet seen, and at the same time altogether different from any thing in

* Sketches of India, pp. 166—172.

† Valentia, vol. i, pp. 78, 9.

Bengal. No Europeans live in the town, nor are the streets wide enough for a wheel-carriage. Mr. Fraser's gig was stopped short almost in its entrance, and the rest of the way was passed in *tonjons*, through alleys so crowded, so narrow, and so winding, that even a *tonjon* sometimes passed with difficulty. The houses are mostly lofty; none, I think, less than two stories, most of three, and several of five or six, a sight which I now for the first time saw in India. The streets, like those of Chester, are considerably lower than the ground-floors of the houses, which have mostly arched rows in front, with little shops behind them. Above these, the houses are richly embellished with verandahs, galleries, projecting oriel windows, and very broad and overhanging eaves, supported by carved brackets. The number of temples is very great, mostly small, and stuck like shrines in the angles of the streets, and under the shadow of the lofty houses. Their forms, however, are not ungraceful; and many of them are entirely covered over with beautiful and elaborate carvings of flowers, animals, and palm-branches, equalling in minuteness and richness the best specimens that I have seen of Gothic or Grecian architecture. The material of the buildings is a very good stone from Chunar; but the Hindoos here seem fond of painting them a deep red colour, and, indeed, of covering the more conspicuous parts of their houses with paintings in gaudy colours, of flower-pots, men, women, bulls, elephants, gods and goddesses, in all their many-formed, many-headed, many-handed, and many-weaponed varieties. The sacred bulls devoted to Siva, of every age, tame and familiar as mastiffs, walk lazily up and down these narrow streets, or are seen lying across them, and hardly to be kicked up, (any blows, indeed, given them, must be of the

gentlest kind, or wo be to the profane wretch who braves the prejudices of this fanatic population,) in order to make way for the *tonjon.* Monkeys sacred to Hunimaun, the divine ape who conquered Ceylon for Rama, are, in some parts of the town, equally numerous, clinging to all the roofs and little projections of the temples, putting their impertinent heads and hands into every fruiterer's or confectioner's shop, and snatching the food from the children at their meals. Fakeer's houses, as they are called, occur at every turn, adorned with idols, and sending out an unceasing tinkling and strumming of vinas, biyals, and other discordant instruments; while religious mendicants of every Hindoo sect, offering every conceivable deformity which chalk, cow-dung, disease, matted locks, distorted limbs, and disgusting and hideous attitudes of penance can shew, literally line the principal streets on both sides. The number of blind persons is very great; I was going to say, of lepers also, but I am not sure whether the appearance on the skin may not have been filth and chalk; and here I saw repeated instances of that penance of which I had heard much in Europe, of men with their legs or arms voluntarily distorted by keeping them in one position, and their hands clenched, till the nails grew out at their backs. Their pitiful exclamations as we passed, '*Agha Sahib*,' '*Topee Sahib*,' (the usual names in Hindostan for a European,) '*khana ke waste kooch cheez do*,' (give me something to eat,) soon drew from me what few pice I had; but it was a drop of water in the ocean, and the importunities of the rest, as we advanced into the city, were almost drowned in the hubbub which surrounded us. Such are the sights and sounds which greet a stranger on entering this 'the most Holy City' of Hindostan,

'the Lotus of the World, not founded on common earth, but on the point of Siva's trident;' a place so blessed, that whoever dies here, of whatever sect, even though he should be an eater of beef, *so he will but be charitable to the poor Brahmins*, is sure of salvation. It is, in fact, this very holiness which makes it the common resort of beggars; since, besides the number of pilgrims, which is enormous from every part of India, as well as from Tibet and the Birman empire, a great multitude of rich individuals in the decline of life, and almost all the great men who are, from time to time, disgraced, or banished from home by the revolutions which are continually occurring in the Hindoo states,—come hither to wash away their sins, or to fill up their vacant hours with the gaudy ceremonies of their religion, and really give away great sums in profuse and indiscriminate charity."

On penetrating further into the city, the Bishop was surprised at the large, lofty, and handsome dwelling-houses, the well-furnished bazars, and the hum of business that was going on in the midst of all this wretchedness and fanaticism. The following is a description of a private dwelling, belonging to two minors, the sons of a wealthy *baboo* or Hindoo gentleman.

"It was a striking building, and had the advantage, very unusual in Benares, of having a vacant area of some size before the door, which gave us an opportunity of seeing its architecture. It is very irregular, built round a small court, two sides of which are taken up by the dwelling-house, the others by offices. The house is four lofty stories high, with a tower over the gate, of one story more. The front has small windows of various forms, some of them projecting on brackets, and beautifully carved; and a great part of the wall

itself is covered with a carved pattern of sprigs, leaves, and flowers, like an old fashioned paper. The whole is of stone, but painted a deep red. The general effect is by no means unlike some of the palaces at Venice, as represented in Canaletti's Views. We entered a gateway similar to that of a college, with a groined arch of beautifully rich carving, like that on the roof of Christ Church gateway, though much smaller. On each side is a deep, richly carved recess, like a shrine, in which are idols with lamps before them, the household gods of the family. The court is crowded with plantains and rose-trees, with a raised and ornamented well in its centre. On the left hand, a narrow and deep flight of stone steps, the meanest part of the fabric, without balustrades, and looking like the approach to an English granary, led to the first story. At their foot, we were received by the two young heirs, stout little fellows of thirteen and twelve, escorted by their uncle, an immensely fat Brahmin pundit, who is the spiritual director of the family, and a little shrewd-looking, smooth-spoken, but vulgar and impudent man, who called himself their Moonshee. They led us up to the show-rooms, which are neither large nor numerous; they are, however, very beautifully carved, and the principal of them, which occupies the first floor of the gate-way, and is a square with a Gothic arcade round it, struck me as exceedingly comfortable. The centre, about fifteen feet square, is raised and covered with a carpet, serving as a divan. The arcade round is flagged with a good deal of carving and ornament, and is so contrived that, on a very short notice, four streams of water, one in the centre of each side, descend from the roof like a permanent shower-bath, and fall into stone

basins sunk beneath the floor, and covered with a sort of open fretwork, also of stone. These rooms were hung with a good many English prints of the common paltry description which was fashionable twenty years ago, of Sterne and poor Maria, (the boys supposed this to be a doctor feeling a lady's pulse,) the Sorrows of Werter, &c.; together with a daub of the present Emperor of Delhi, and several portraits in oil, of a much better kind, of the father of these boys, some of his powerful native friends and employers, and of a very beautiful woman of European complexion, but in an Eastern dress, of whom the boys knew nothing, or would say nothing more, than that the picture was painted for their father, by Lall-jee of Patna. I did not, indeed, repeat the question, because I knew the reluctance with which all Eastern nations speak of their women; but it certainly had the appearance of a portrait, and, as well as the old Baboo's picture, would have been called a creditable painting in most gentlemen's houses in England.

"Benares is, in fact, a very industrious and wealthy, as well as a very holy city. It is the great mart where the shawls of the north, the diamonds of the south, and the muslins of Dacca and the Eastern provinces centre, and it has very considerable silk, cotton, and fine woollen manufactories of its own; while English hardware, swords, shields, and spears from Lucknow and Monghyr, and those European luxuries and elegancies which are daily becoming more popular in India, circulate from hence through Bundelcund, Gorruckpoor, Nepaul, and other tracts which are removed from the main artery of the Ganges. The population, according to a census made in 1803, amounted to above 582,000,—an enormous amount, and which one

should think must have been exaggerated: but it is the nearest means we have of judging, and it certainly becomes less improbable from the really great size of the town, and the excessively crowded manner in which it is built. It is well drained, and stands dry on a high rocky bank sloping to the river; to which circumstance, as well as to the frequent ablutions and great temperance of the people, must be ascribed its freedom from infectious diseases. Accordingly, notwithstanding its crowded population, it is not an unhealthy city; yet the only square, or open part in it, is the new market-place, constructed by the present Government, and about as large as the Peckwater Quadrangle in Oxford.

"Our first visit was to a celebrated temple, named the Vishvayesa, consisting of a very small but beautiful specimen of carved stone-work; and the place is one of the most holy in Hindostan, though it only approximates to a yet more sacred spot adjoining, which Aulum Gheer defiled, and built a mosque upon, so as to render it inaccessible to the worshippers of Brahma. The temple-court, small as it is, is crowded, like a farm-yard, with very fat and very tame bulls, which thrust their noses into every body's hand and pocket for gram and sweetmeats, which their fellow-votaries give them in great quantities. The cloisters are not less full of naked devotees, as hideous as chalk and dung can make them; and the continued hum of 'Ram! Ram! Ram! Ram!' is enough to make a stranger giddy. The place is kept very clean, however; indeed, the priests seem to do little else than pour water over the images and the pavement. I found them not merely willing, but anxious to shew me every thing,—frequently repeating, that they were

Padres also; though it is true that they used this circumstance as an argument for my giving them a present. Near this temple is a well, with a small tower over it, and a steep flight of steps for descending to the water, which is brought by a subterraneous channel from the Ganges, and, for some reason or other, is accounted more holy than even the Ganges itself. All pilgrims to Benares are enjoined to drink and wash here; but a few years ago, a quarrel having occurred between the Hindoo and Mussulman population of the town, arising from the two religious processions of the Mohurrun and Junma Osmee encountering each other, the Moslem mob killed a cow on this spot, and poured her blood into the sacred water. The Hindoos retaliated by throwing rashers of bacon into the windows of as many mosques as they could reach; but the matter did not end so: both parties took to arms, several lives were lost, and Benares was in a state of uproar for many hours, till the British Government came in with its authority, and quelled the disturbance.

"In another temple, near those of which I have been speaking, and which is dedicated to Unna Purna, (supposed to be the Anna Perenna of the Romans,) a Brahmin was pointed out to me, who passes his whole day seated on a little pulpit about as high and large as a dressing-table; only leaving it for his necessary ablutions, and at night, when he sleeps on the pavement beside it. His constant occupation is reading or lecturing on the Vedas. The latter, he does to as many as will hear him, from eight in the morning till four in the evening. He asks for nothing; but a small copper basin stands by his pulpit, into which any who feel disposed, may drop the alms

on which only he subsists. He is a little pale man, of an interesting countenance, which he does not disfigure by such ostentatious marks of piety as are usual here, and is said to be eloquent, as well as extremely learned in the Sanscrit.

"One of the most interesting and singular objects in Benares is the ancient Observatory, founded before the Mussulman conquest, and still very entire, though no longer made any use of. It is a stone building, containing some small courts, cloistered round for the accommodation of the astronomers and their students, and a large square tower, on which are seen a huge gnomon, perhaps twenty feet high, with the arc of a dial in proportion, a circle fifteen feet in diameter, and a meridional line, all in stone. These are very far from being exact, but are interesting proofs of the zeal with which science has at one time been followed in these countries. There is a similar observatory at Delhi.*

"From the Observatory, we descended by a long flight of steps to the water's edge, where a boat was waiting for us. I had thus an opportunity of seeing the whole city on its most favourable side. It is really a very large place, and rises from the river in an amphitheatrical form, thickly studded with domes and minarets, with many very fine ghâts descending to the water's edge, all crowded with bathers and worshippers. Shrines and temples of various sizes, even within the usual limits of the river's rise, almost

* It was built by Raja Jes-Singh. Its figure is spherical, representing the universe. In its interior are contained the zodiac and other circles of the armillary sphere. The astronomical system delineated, is the *Copernican*. A particular description of this remarkable apparatus is given in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxvii. See also Encyclopædia Britannica.

line its banks. Some of these are very beautiful, though all are small; and I was particularly struck with one very elegant little structure, which was founded, as well as the ghât on which it stands, by the virtuous Ali Bhaee." *

As a special favour, permission had been obtained for the Bishop to see the interior of a Jain temple, to which he now proceeded.

"After climbing a steep flight of steps, and threading a succession of the narrowest alleys I ever saw, we arrived at the door of a large and lofty, but dingy house, at the top of which peeped out a little gilt cupola. Here we climbed another steep staircase, and were received in a small but neat vestibule, without furniture, except three or four chairs, and with a beautiful oriel window looking on the river, by the priest, a tall large man, with a very shrewd and intelligent countenance. He begged us to be seated, and observed, he was sorry he could not converse with me in any language which I was sufficiently acquainted with, to make me understand all I should see. Two or three others, Jain merchants, now entered, and the priest led us into a succession of six small rooms, with an altar at the end of each, not unlike those in Roman Catholic chapels, with a little niche on one side, resembling what in such churches they call the *piscina*. In the centre of each room was a large tray with rice and ghee strongly perfumed, apparently as an offering; and in two or three of them were men seated on their heels on the floor, with their hands folded as in prayer or religious contemplation. Over each of the altars was an altar-piece, a large bas-

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 371—385. For a notice of Alia Bhaee, see page 292 of our second volume.

relief in marble, the first containing five, the last in succession, twenty-five figures, all of men sitting cross-legged, one considerably larger than the rest, and represented as a negro. He, the priest said, was their god; the rest were the different bodies which he had assumed at different epochs, when he had become incarnate to instruct mankind. The doctrines which he had delivered on these occasions, make up their theology; and the progress which any man has made in these mysteries, entitles him to worship in one or more of the successive apartments which were shewn us.

"They call their god, I think, *Purnavesa*; but he is evidently the same person as Buddha, being identified by his negro features and curled hair, and by the fact which the priest mentioned, that he had many worshippers in Pegu and Thibet. Yet, when I asked him if he was the same with Buddha, he did not expressly allow it, merely answering that his proper name was Purnavesa." *

The proper name of the Jain deity is *Parswanatha*, or *Parus Nauth*: he is also called *Jainiswara*, and is supposed to be the original *Jugger Nauth*. There is no doubt, however, of his being a form of Booddh; the Boodhists and the Jains being two branches of the same great sect. The peculiar institutions and remaining monuments of this class of the Hindoo population, will come under observation in describing Gujerat and the Peninsula, where they are now chiefly to be found.

"There yet remained to be visited," continues the Bishop, "the mosque of Aurungzebe and the *Vidalaya* or Hindoo College." The former has been already described. The latter is "a large building, divided

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 386, 7.

into two courts, with galleries above and below, full of teachers and scholars, distributed into a number of classes, who learn reading, writing, arithmetic (in the Hindoo manner), Persian, Hindoo law and sacred literature, Sanscrit astronomy according to the Ptolemaic system, and astrology. There are two hundred scholars, some of whom, of all sorts, came to say their lessons to me. The astronomer produced a terrestrial globe, divided according to their system, and elevated to the meridian of Benares. Mount Meru, he identified with the north pole; and under the south pole, he supposed the tortoise (*chukwa*) to stand, on which the earth rests. The southern hemisphere he apprehended to be uninhabitable; but on its concave surface, in the interior of the globe, he placed Padalon. He then shewed me how the sun goes round the earth once in every day, and how, by a different but equally continuous motion, he also visits the signs of the zodiac. The whole system is precisely that of Ptolemy; and the contrast was very striking, between the rubbish which these young men were learning in a Government establishment, and the rudiments of real knowledge which those whom I had visited the day before, had acquired in the very same city, under circumstances far less favourable.*......The truth is,

* The Bishop was informed, that it had been frequently proposed to introduce an English and mathematical class, and to teach the Newtonian and Copernican system; but the late Superintendent of the establishment was strongly opposed to any innovation, "lest it should interfere with the religious prejudices of the professors." The absurdity of this pretext is exposed by the Bishop, who remarks, that the Ptolemaic system which is now taught, is itself an innovation on the old Hindoo faith of eight worlds and seven oceans, arranged like a nest of boxes. Mr. Prinsep told him, that learned Brahmins had sometimes owned that "our system was the most rational, but that the other answered all their purposes."

that even the pundit who read me this lecture, smiled once or twice very slily, and said, 'Our people are taught so and so,' as if he himself knew better. There are in this college ten professors, all paid and maintained by Government." *

"In the very heart of the city is a school, founded and patronised by a wealthy Brahmin, who has stepped forth from the crowd of idolaters, is a friend to knowledge, and certainly not an enemy to Christianity, having placed it under the care of a pious and able young Englishman, an orphan *élève* of the Rev. Mr. Corrie. There is another school under the charge of this young man in the cantonment; and Christian missions, of different denominations, have establishments here."†

The school above referred to, is that which Bishop Heber mentions as affording so striking a contrast to the Government institution for perpetuating the astronomy of Ptolemy and Albunazur. It was founded by a wealthy Hindoo banker (Jay Narain), and entrusted by him to the management of the Church Missionary Society. "Besides a grammatical knowledge of the Hindoostanee language, as well as Persian and Arabic, the senior boys could pass a good examination in English Grammar, in Hume's History of England, Joyce's Scientific Dialogues, the Use of the Globes, and the principal facts and moral precepts of the Gospel; most of them writing beautifully in the Persian, and very tolerably in the English character, and excelling in the accuracy and readiness of their arithmetic."‡ The number of boys in this school is now 150, a greater number than ever before attended;

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 390—2.
† Sketches of India, pp. 173—178.
‡ Heber, vol. iii. p. 360.

and the Church Catechism has recently been introduced without exciting any opposition.* There are also eight Hinduwee schools, under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, in which upwards of 250 boys are receiving instruction. Two missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society, have instituted six schools in the north-eastern part of the city, where none had been previously established, which are attended by about 260 boys. At Secrole, the service of the Church of England is now regularly conducted in Hindoostance, every Sunday, in the Episcopal chapel; and a charity school for the female natives, has recently been opened. The Serampore Missionaries have also had a station here since 1816.† Thus is Christianity slowly making its way even at the "Hindoo Athens."

The climate at Benares is very different from that of Calcutta, and is deemed very salubrious. From its vicinity to the snowy mountains, the winter is sometimes so cold as to produce icicles. Hoar-frost in the morning is not uncommon. "The houses of the English at Secrole," Lord Valentia says, "are good and handsome. There is a nakedness in their appearance, from the want of trees; but this is absolutely necessary in India, unless you choose to be devoured by mosquitoes." The surrounding country is very bare of wood, though fertile and well cultivated. Fuel is consequently very dear; and to this circumstance, Bishop Heber says, is imputed the number of bodies thrown into the river without burning. "*Suttees* are less numerous in Benares, than in many parts of India; but self-immolation by drowning, is very

* Missionary Register, 1828, p. 95.
† Missionary Register, Feb. 1828.

common. Many scores of pilgrims, every year, from all parts of India, come hither expressly to end their days and secure their salvation. They purchase two large *kedjeree* pots, between which they tie themselves; and while empty, these support their weight in the water. Thus equipped, they paddle into the stream, then fill the pots with the water which surrounds them, and thus sink into eternity." *

About five miles from Benares, there is a remarkable structure, evidently a Boodhic monument, and closely resembling a building of unknown origin at Manikayala in Punjaub, described by Mr. Elphinstone. "It is a circular mass of brick-work. There has been a casing of stone-work to it, which in many places has been removed. Where it remains, it exhibits some good carving,—high-wrought borders, in which the figure of Boodh is a kind of medallion, among a rich pattern of leaves and flowers. There have been all around, eight projections from the stone, running out about eight inches from the mass. About mid-height, this mass grows smaller, exactly in the shape of a *daghope*; † but towards the top, it is a mere mass of ruins. Round the foundation, the ground has been dug up in fruitless search of treasure. Above two hundred yards off are the foundations, still to be traced,

* Heber, vol. i. p. 389. It may be doubted whether either the want of fuel or the number of suicides will explain the fewness of *suttees*. Those who drown themselves are not widows. Mr. Oakley, the Hooghly magistrate, remarks, "that where Hindooism is in perfection, compared with other places, there the practice least obtains."

† Literally, bone-container; supposed to contain relics of Boodh. The *dagop* is a striking characteristic of Boodhist temples. It is a hemispherical figure, or cupola, rising from a low cylinder, and often surmounted with a large umbrella of stone or wood.

of a very large building; but it struck me immediately as the same kind of building that I had seen in the courts of Boodh temples at Ceylon, there called the *taut* of Boodh; and also that which is placed inside the temple in the Carlee Cave, and that of Bishkurma at Ellora. I conjecture the foundations near to have been those of the temple itself. There are now no Booddhists near Benares; but a miserable little pagoda about a hundred yards off, is reckoned by the Brahmins the most sacred spot in the neighbourhood of Benares. It is a singular thing," remarks the Writer, "that both here and at Gya, the favourite seats of the religions so hostile to each other, should be the same. Near this *daghope* are some very well executed Boodh figures in black granite. They have been collected by Mr. Gold, and all lie together." *

"The city of Benares," Bishop Heber remarks, "is certainly the richest, as well as, probably, the most populous in India; it is also the best governed in respect to its police, which is carried on by a sort of national guard, the chuprassies, chosen by the inhabitants themselves, and merely approved of by the magistrates. There are about 500 of these in the city, which is divided into sixty wards, with a gate to each, which is shut at night, and guarded by one of these people. In consequence, notwithstanding the vast population, the crowds of beggars and pilgrims of all countries, (of Mahratta pilgrims alone, there are generally some 20,000 in the place, many of them armed, and of war-like and predatory habits,) robberies and murders are very rare; while the guards, being elected and paid

* Bombay Transactions, vol. iii. pp. 519, 20.

by the respectable householders, have an interest in being civil, well-behaved, and attentive.

"The army at Secrole is never called in except in cases of extremity, according to an excellent rule laid down and strictly observed by the Government of Bengal, never to employ the military force except in affairs of real war, or where an active and numerous police is visibly incompetent to provide for the public safety. Only one instance of the military being called in, has occurred at Benares during the last twenty-five years, which was on occasion of the quarrel I have already noticed between the Mussulmans and Hindoos. At that time, Mr. Bird was magistrate, and he gave me a far more formidable idea of the tumult than I had previously formed. One half of the population was literally armed against the other, and the fury which actuated both, was more like that of demoniacs than rational enemies. It began by the Mussulmans breaking down a famous pillar, named Siva's walking-staff, held in high veneration by the Hindoos. These latter in revenge burnt and broke down a mosque; and the retort of the first aggressors was, to kill a cow, and pour her blood into the sacred well. In consequence, every Hindoo able to bear arms, and many who had no other fitness for the employment than rage supplied, procured weapons, and attacked their enemies with frantic fury wherever they met them. Being the most numerous party, they put the Mussulmans in danger of actual extermination, and would certainly have, at least, burned every mosque in the place before twenty-four hours were over, if the Sepoys had not been called in. Of these last, the temper was extremely doubtful. By far the greater number of them were Hindoos, and perhaps one-half

Brahmins; any one of them, if he had been his own master, would have rejoiced in an opportunity of shedding his life's blood in a quarrel with the Mussulmans; and of the mob who attacked them, the Brahmins, yoguees, gossains, and other religious mendicants formed the front rank, their bodies and faces covered with chalk and ashes, their long hair untied as devoted to death, shewing their strings, and yelling out to them all the bitterest curses of their religion, if they persisted in urging an unnatural war against their brethren and their gods. The Sepoys, however, were immoveable.* Regarding their military oath as the most sacred of all obligations, they fired at a Brahmin as readily as at any one else, and kept guard at the gate of a mosque as faithfully and fearlessly as if it had been the gate of one of their own temples. Their courage and steadiness preserved Benares from ruin.

"One observation of some of the Hindoo Sepoys was remarkable. The pillar, the destruction of which led to all the tumult, had originally stood in one of the Hindoo temples which were destroyed by Aurungzebe, and had mosques built over them. In the mosque, however, it still was suffered to exist, and pilgrimages were made to it by the Hindoos through the connivance of the Mussulmans, in consequence of their being allowed to receive half of all the offerings made there. It was a very beautiful shaft of one stone, forty feet high, and covered with exquisite carving. This carving gave offence to several zealous Mohammedans; but the quarrel which hastened its destruction, arose, as I have stated, from the unfortunate rencontre of the rival processions. Respecting the pillar, a tradition had long prevailed among the Hindoos, that it was gradually sinking in the ground; that

it had been twice the visible height it then shewed, and that, when its summit was level with the earth, all nations were to be of one caste, and the religion of Brahma to have an end. Two Brahmin Sepoys were keeping guard in the mosque, where the defaced and prostrate pillar lay. 'Ah,' said one of them, 'we have seen that which *we* never thought to see; Siva's shaft has its head even with the ground; we shall all be of one caste shortly. What will be our religion then?' 'I suppose the Christian,' answered the other. 'I suppose so too,' rejoined the first, 'for, after all that has passed, I am sure we shall never turn Mussulmans.'

"After the tumult was quelled, a very curious and impressive scene succeeded. The holy city had been profaned; the blood of a cow had been mixed with the purest water of Gunga, and salvation was to be obtained at Benares no longer. All the Brahmins in the city, amounting to many thousands, went down in melancholy procession, with ashes on their heads, naked and fasting, to the principal ghâts leading to the river, and sat there with their hands folded, their heads hanging down, to all appearance inconsolable, and refusing to enter a house, or to taste food. Two or three days of this abstinence, however, began to tire them; and a hint was given to the magistrates and other public men, that a visit of condolence and an expression of sympathy with these holy mourners, would sufficiently comfort them, and give them an ostensible reason for returning to their usual employment. Accordingly, all the British functionaries went to the principal ghât, expressed their sorrow for the distress in which they saw them, but reasoned with them on the absurdity of punishing themselves for an act in which they had no share, and which they had

done their utmost to prevent or to avenge. This prevailed, and after much bitter weeping, it was resolved that Ganges was Ganges still; that a succession of costly offerings from the laity of Benares might wipe out the stain which their religion had received, and that the advice of the judges was the best and most reasonable. Mr. Bird, who was one of the ambassadors on this occasion, told me, that the scene was very impressive and even awful. The gaunt, squalid figures of the devotees, their visible and apparently unaffected anguish and dismay, the screams and outcries of the women who surrounded them, and the great numbers thus assembled, altogether constituted a spectacle of wo, such as few cities but Benares could supply.

"Benares being in many respects the commercial, and in all, the ecclesiastical metropolis of India, I was not surprised to find persons from all parts of the Peninsula residing there. But I was astonished to hear of the number of Persians, Turks, Tatars, and even Europeans, who are to be met with. Among them is a Greek, a well-informed and well-mannered man, who has fixed himself here for many years, living on his means, whatever they are, and professing to study the Sanscrit.......There is also a Russian here, who, by a natural affinity, lives much with the Greek. He is, however, a trader, and has apparently moved in a much humbler rank of society than his friend." *

The Maha-rajah of Benares, one of the Company's wealthy pensionaries, now resides at the fort of Ramnaghur, built by Bulwunt Singh, on the opposite side of the river. A small town adjoins the fort, consisting of two streets crossing each other, of a good width and tolerable architecture. It is "filled with Brahmins."

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 428—437.

About a mile inland is a garden-house, erected (but left unfinished) by the unfortunate Cheyte Singh Rajah. The garden is square, laid out in the Dutch style, with formal walks and clipped hedges. At the angles are round summer-houses with domes; at the southern end is a handsome stone pavilion; and opposite to it is a large tank, one of the most magnificent works, Lord Valentia says, that he ever beheld, and communicating with baths for the Rajah's women. There is also a small but most elegant pagoda, of stone, rising from a square base into a dome; the front divided into compartments of about two feet square, in each of which is the figure of a deity, exquisitely carved. These beautiful buildings were never finished, the superstition of India deterring the successor of Cheyte Singh from completing them, lest it should entail the inheritance of his misfortunes.*

CHUNAR.

The fortress of Chunar, in which, in 1781, the Governor-General (Hastings) took refuge, when, by placing the Rajah under arrest, he roused the timid natives into insurrection,† is situated thirteen miles higher up, also on the south side of the Ganges. It was a place of great importance in former times, but has been superseded as a military depôt by Allahabad. The view of Chunar from the river, Bishop Heber describes as very striking. "Its fortress, which is of great extent and still in good repair, covers the crest and sides of a large and high rock, with several successive enclosures of walls and towers, the lowest of

* Valentia, vol. i. pp. 85—7. The view obtained from the pavilion, of Benares and the river, is uncommonly grand.

† See page 98 of our second volume.

which have their base washed by the Ganges. On the right, as we approached it, is seen a range of rocky and uneven hills; on the left, a large Indian town, intermingled with fine round-headed trees, with some very good European habitations, and a tall Gothic tower, like that of a parish-church in England, which belongs, in fact, to the Mission church, and is an imitation of that in Mr. Corrie's native village. The whole scene is entirely English; the mosques and *muts* are none of them visible in this quarter; the native houses, with their white walls and red-tiled roofs, look exactly like those of a small English country town; the castle, with its Union flag, is such as would be greatly admired, but not at all out of place, in any ancient English sea-port; and much as I admire palm-trees, I felt glad that they were not very common in this neighbourhood, and that there were none visible to spoil the home character of the prospect.

" The European dwellings are all on the side of a steep slope, covered with wood and gardens, with their drawing-room verandahs opening for the most part on a raised terrace. Behind, and rising still higher up the slope, is the native town, the houses all of stone, and mostly of two stories, generally with verandahs in front, let out into shops; the whole not unlike a Welch market-town, but much larger, and probably containing 15,000 people. Beyond is an open country, intersected by a broad nullah, with a handsome Gothic bridge; and beyond this, an open extent of rocky and woody country, which is a good deal infested by wolves and bears, but seldom visited by a tiger. The bears rarely do any harm, unless they are first attacked. The wolves are, apparently, more daring and impudent than in Russia; they are

said frequently to come to the houses and sheepfolds, and sometimes even attack and carry off children."

"The site and outline" of the Fort "are very noble. The rock on which it stands, is perfectly insulated, and, either naturally or by art, is bordered on every side by a very awful precipice, flanked, wherever it has been possible to obtain a salient angle, with towers, bartizans, and bastions of various forms and sizes. There are a good many cannon mounted, and a noble bomb-proof magazine for powder, which has been lately in a great measure stripped for the supply of the Birman war. Colonel Robertson, however, told me, that the ammunition on which he should most depend for the defence of Chunar, are stone cylinders, rudely made, and pretty much like garden-rollers, which are piled up in great numbers throughout the interior of the fort, and for which the rock on which the fort stands, affords an inexhaustible quarry. These, which are called *mutwalas* (drunkards), from their staggering motion, are rolled over the parapet down the steep face of the hill, to impede the advances and overwhelm the ranks of an assaulting army; and when a place has not been regularly breached, or where, as at Chunar, the scarped and sloping rock itself serves as a rampart, few troops will so much as face them. Against a native army, Colonel Robertson said, Chunar, if resolutely defended, would, he thought, be impregnable, and except in one quarter, it would stand no contemptible siege against a European force. Even there, the rock which commands it might easily be so much lowered as to prevent any danger; and the stone of which it consists is so valuable, that the neighbouring zemindars have offered to cart it away at their own expense, provided Government would give up the duty now laid on Chunar-stone when trans-

ported into different parts of India; but the offer was declined.

"On the top of the rock of Chunar, and within the rampart, is a considerable space, covered with remarkably fine English hay-grass, now nearly ripe for cutting, several noble spreading trees, and some excellent houses for the officers; few of whom, however, when not on duty, remain here, the reflection of the sun from the rock being very powerful, and the expense of bringing water for the tatties, great. Within this principal circle, and on a still higher point, are two inner fortifications; one containing the Governor's house, the hospital, and the state-prison, now inhabited by the celebrated Maharatta chieftain, Trimbuk-jee, long the inveterate enemy of the British power, and the fomenter of all the troubles in Berar, Malwah, and the Deckan. He is confined with great strictness, having a European as well as a sepoy guard, and never being trusted out of the sight of the sentries. Even his bed-chamber has three grated windows opening into the verandah which serves as a guard room. In other respects, he is well treated, has two very large and very airy apartments, a small building fitted up as a pagoda, and a little garden shaded with a peepul-tree, which he has planted very prettily with balsams and other flowers. Four of his own servants are allowed to attend him, but they are always searched before they quit or return to the fort, and must be always there at night. He is a little, lively, irritable-looking man, dressed, when I saw him, in a dirty cotton mantle, with a broad red border, thrown carelessly over his head and shoulders. I was introduced to him by Colonel Alexander, and he received me courteously, observing, that he himself was a Brahmin; and in token of his bro-

therly regard, he plucked some of his prettiest flowers for me. He then shewed me his garden and pagoda; and after a few common-place expressions of the pleasure I felt in seeing so celebrated a warrior, which he answered by saying with a laugh, he should have been glad to make my acquaintance *elsewhere*, I made my bow, and took leave.

"In the last inclosure of the fortress, on the very summit of the mountain, and calculated to make a defence even after all the lower works had fallen, are several very interesting buildings. One of them is the old Hindoo palace, a central dome surrounded by several vaulted apartments, with many remains of painting and carving, but dark, low, and impervious to heat. On one side of this, is a loftier and more airy building, now used as an armory, but formerly the residence of the Mussulman governor; with handsome rooms, and beautifully carved oriel windows, such as one reads of in Mrs. Radcliffe's castles. A little further on, in the bastion, is an extraordinary well or reservoir, about fifteen feet in diameter, and cut to a great depth in the solid rock, but the water of which is not sufficiently good to be used, except in case of necessity. In front of the Hindoo palace, in the pavement of the court, are seen four small round holes, just large enough for a man to pass through, below which is the state-prison of ancient times. Well is it for Trimbuk-jee, that his lot is thrown in better days! This is a horrible dungeon indeed, with neither light, air, nor access, except what these apertures supply to a space of forty feet square. It is now used as a cellar. But the greatest curiosity of all remains to be described. Colonel Robertson called for a key, and unlocking a rusty iron door in a very rugged and ancient wall, said, he would shew me the

most holy place in all India. Taking off his hat, he led the way into a small square court, overshadowed by a very old peepul-tree, which grew from the rock on one side, and from one of the branches of which hung a small silver bell. Under it was a large slab of black marble, and opposite on the walls, a rudely carved rose inclosed in a triangle. No image was visible, but some sepoys who followed us in, fell on their knees, kissed the dust in the neighbourhood of the stone, and rubbed their foreheads with it. On this stone, Colonel Alexander said, the Hindoos all believe that the Almighty * is seated, personally, though invisibly, for nine hours every day; removing, during the other three hours, to Benares. On this account, the sepoys apprehend that Chunar can never be taken by an enemy, except between the hours of six and nine in the morning; and for the same reason, and in order by this sacred neighbourhood to be out of all danger of witchcraft, the kings of Benares, before the Mussulman conquest, had all the marriages of their family celebrated in the adjoining palace."†

Chunar was, in the sixteenth century, the residence of the Emperor Sheer, the Afghan, who drove

* Which of the many almighties of the Hindoo pantheon is referred to, under this objectionable misapplication of the Divine Name, we are left to conjecture. The following passage from Baldæus, may serve, however, to illustrate the superstition. On the top of Mount Calasay, he tells us, is "a spacious plain, in the middle whereof is a bell of silver and a square table, surrounded with nine precious stones of divers colours. Upon this table lies a silver rose, called *Tamari Pua*, which contains two women as bright and fair as a pearl: one is called *Bugasiri*, the lady of the mouth; the other, *Tarasiri*, the lady of the tongue, because they praise God with the mouth and tongue. In the centre of this rose is *the triangle of Quivelinga*, which, they say, is the permanent residence of God."—Southey's Kehama, vol. ii. p. 191.

† Heber, vol. i. pp. 401—409.

the son of Baber from the throne of Delhi. It is now a station for invalids of the British army. The Europeans and sepoys together amount to about a thousand men.* "In this station is laid the foundation-stone of an imperishable monument to the memory of the good and pious Corrie, in two thriving schools and a small Christian church, established through his apostolic labours. To him also are Benares and Agra indebted principally for the Christian advantages and privileges they enjoy." †

About three miles from Chunar, in a grove of palm and other fruit-trees, is a mosque with "a very large and beautiful tomb of a certain Sheik Kaseem Solimaun and his son." Of their history, Bishop Heber "could learn nothing further, than that they were very holy men, who died here while on pilgrimage, and that their tombs and the mosque were built and endowed by one of the emperors of Delhi. The buildings and the grove in which they stand, are very solemn and striking; and the carving of the principal gateway, and of the stone lattice with which the garden is inclosed, is more like embroidery than the work of the chisel."

Chunar is situated in the district of Mirzapoor. The town of that name, situated about thirty miles W.S.W. of Benares, on the south side of the Ganges, is

* "The sepoy invalids have mostly grown old in the service. Some of the Europeans are very old likewise: there is one who fought with Clive. The majority, however, are men still hardly advanced beyond youth, early victims of a devouring climate, assisted, perhaps, by carelessness and intemperance."—Heber, vol. i. p. 413.

† Sketches of India, p. 181. The church, which was first opened for public worship in April 1820, has unhappily been erected on so bad a foundation, that it will require to be rebuilt. There are an English, a Persian, and three Hinduwee schools.' —Miss. Reg. 1828, p. 97.

one of the greatest inland trading towns in India, and the mart of all the cotton from Agra and the Mahratta countries, as well as of a considerable quantity of filature silk; and in the vicinity are extensive manufactories of carpeting and various cotton fabrics.* The place has grown up into importance since the establishment of the English power, and is only an inferior civil station with a few native troops. Yet, it struck Bishop Heber as being apparently as large as Patna, containing many handsome native houses and a vast number of mosques and temples, with numerous and elegant bungalows in its outskirts and on the opposite side of the river. A great number of boats of all kinds were moored under its ghauts. The population is computed at between 200,000 and 300,000 people. "This is, indeed," he remarks, "a most rich and striking land. Here, in the space of little more than 200 miles, along the same river, I have passed six towns, none of them less populous than Chester; two (Patna and Mirzapoor) more so than Birmingham; and one (Benares) more peopled than any city in Europe, except London and Paris. And this besides villages innumerable."

Lord Valentia proceeded from Benares to Juanpoor (Jionpoor), on his route to Lucknow. This town, the capital of a district which lies on the north side of the Ganges, is situated on the banks of the Goomty river, about forty-two miles N.W. from Benares. The castle rises considerably above the level of the country, and is venerable in its ruins. The road lies along the opposite side of the river, through the midst of monu-

* Hamilton, vol. i. p. 311. Bernoulli makes it only sixteen miles from Benares, and describes it as "*une place marchande, appelée le grand Mirsapoor, pour la distinguer d'une autre.*"—Tom i. p. 240.

ments and mosques in ruins. A suburb of clay-built huts leads to a large caravanserai of the same materials, beyond which there is a bridge of considerable extent, divided into two parts: one, consisting of ten arches, extends to the boundary of the river during the dry season; but the second becomes necessary in the rains, when the torrents are very violent, and the river rises so high as completely to cover the top. Yet, it has stood for nearly 300 years. "It is certainly," remarks the noble Traveller, "a great work for an Asiatic, and is considered by the natives as one of the wonders of India. On one side of the bridge is a garden house belonging to the Nawaub of Oude, completely going to decay."*

Proceeding through a wretched town, his Lordship reached a gateway leading into the castle. It is ornamented with a mosaic of vari-coloured varnished tiles, and has been beautiful. The walls of the fort are of solid stone work: the remains of the habitations within serve as a receptacle for debtors. There are several remains of palaces and other relics of ancient magnificence; among the rest, a mosque falling to ruins, which is described as magnificent. "We entered," says Lord Valentia, "a large quadrangle, formed, on three sides, by a stone colonnade two stories high; the lower pillars square, of a singular architecture, and three feet deep; those of the upper tier similar, but round: and each dividing the space into

* It was built in the reign of Akbar, A.H. 972. "In the year 1772, a brigade of British troops under Sir Robert Barker, on their way from Oude, having embarked on the river Goomty at Sultanpoor, in the height of the rainy season, sailed over this bridge, which was then submerged, yet suffered no damage from the violence of the current. No native in modern times is capable of either planning or executing such a piece of architecture." Hamilton, vol. i. p. 315.

different apartments separated by a rich fret-work of carved black stone. The roof and floor were formed of large blocks, many of which have fallen in through their great weight, and have assisted in hastening the ruin of the building. The fourth side, which faces the entrance, consists of the mosque itself, having two towers and two lofty domes: a colonnade extends on each side, so as to form a square. It differs only in having the square pillars of double the height, the building there being but one story high. There is another mosque similar in plan and architecture, but in much better preservation."* The ruins of tombs and mosques are as numerous on the other side of the town as on the Benares road.

Jionpoor is stated by Abulfazel to have been founded by Sultan Feroze III., who named it after his cousin Faker-ud-deen Jowna. It was for some time the seat of an independent empire. In the anarchy which followed the invasion of Timour, Khaja Jehan, vizier to the Sultan Mahommed, having obtained possession of Kanouje, Oude, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, with the greater part of Bahar, assumed the title of Sultan Sharki, or King of the East.† In 1465, Jionpoor was conquered by Sultan Beloli Lodi; and it was for some time the residence of Sultan Secunder. After its final annexation to the Mogul empire, Akbar honoured it with his presence, and built the bridge. It has since then been gradually declining. The majority of the inhabitants are Mohammedans; "but the place has lately been more celebrated from being the residence of a tribe of Hindoos called *Rajckoomars*, with whom the practice of female infanticide

* Valentia, vol. i. p. 96. † See vol. i. pp. 235, 247.

prevailed till it was abolished by the British Government."*

ALLAHABAD.

Bishop Heber proceeded from Mirzapoor to Allahabad, where his journey by water terminated. Of this provincial capital, where D'Anville and Dr. Robertson would place the site of Palibothra, we have the following description.

"Allahabad stands in, perhaps, the most favourable situation which India affords for a great city, in a dry and healthy soil, on a triangle, at the junction of the two mighty streams, Gunga and Jumna, with an easy communication with Bombay and Madras, and capable of being fortified so as to become almost impregnable. But, though occasionally the residence of royalty, though generally inhabited by one of the Shah-zadehs, and still containing two or three fine ruins, it never appears to have been a great or magnificent city, and is now even more desolate and ruinous than Dacca, having obtained, among the natives, the name of *Fakeerabad* (*beggar-abode*). It may, however, revive to some greater prosperity, from the increase of the civil establishment attached to it. It is now the permanent station (the *castrum Hybernum*) of the Sudder Mofussil commission; a body of judges whose office is the same with regard to these provinces, as that of the Sudder Dewannee Udawlut is for the eastern parts of the empire. The necessity for such a special court had become very great."

"The only considerable buildings or ruins in Allahabad are, the fort, the Jumma Musjeed, and the

* Valentia, vol. i. p. 97. See Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 354.

serai and garden of Sultan Khosroo. The first stands on the point of the triangle formed by the two rivers, and is strong both naturally and artificially. It has been a very noble castle, but has suffered in its external appearance, as much as it has, probably, gained in strength, by the modernization which it has undergone from its present masters; its lofty towers being pruned down into bastions and cavaliers, and its high stone rampart topped with turf parapets, and obscured by a green sloping glacis. It is still, however, a striking place; and its principal gate, surmounted by a dome, with a wide hall beneath, surrounded with arcades and galleries, and ornamented with rude but glowing paintings, is the noblest entrance I ever saw to a place of arms. This has been, I think, injudiciously modernized without, after the Grecian or Italian style; but within, the high Gothic arches and Saracenic paintings remain. The barracks are very handsome and neat, something like those of Fort William, which the interior disposition of the fort a good deal resembles. On one side, however, is a large range of buildings, still in the oriental style, and containing some noble vaulted rooms, chiefly occupied as officers' quarters, and looking down from a considerable height on the rapid stream and craggy banks of the Jumna. The Jumna and Ganges are here pretty nearly of equal width: the former is the more rapid of the two, and its navigation more dangerous from the rocky character of its bed, and its want of depth in the dry season. At present, both streams were equally turbid; but in another month, I am told, we should have found the water of the Jumna clear as crystal, and strangely contrasted with the turbid yellow wave of the more sacred stream, which is, however,

when allowed some little time to clear itself, by far the most palatable of the two, and preferred by all the city, both native and European.

"The Jumma Musjeed, or principal mosque, is still in good repair, but very little frequented. It stands on an advantageous situation on the banks of the Jumna, adjoining the city on one side, and on the other, an esplanade before the fort glacis, planted with trees like that of Calcutta. It is a solid and stately building, but without much ornament. It has been, since the English conquest, fitted up first as a residence for the general of the station, then used as an assembly-room, till Mr. Courtney Smith, apprehending this to be an insult to the religious feelings of the Mussulmans, persuaded the Government to restore it to its sacred character, and to repair its damages. The Mussulmans, however, are neither numerous nor zealous in Allahabad, and seemed to care little about the matter. Nevertheless, the original desecration was undoubtedly offensive and unjust, and the restitution a proper and popular measure.

"The finest things in Allahabad, however, are Sultan Khosroo's serai and garden: the former is a noble quadrangle, with four fine Gothic gateways, surrounded, within an embattled wall, by a range of cloisters for the accommodation of travellers. The whole is now much dilapidated, but was about to be repaired from the town duties, when unhappily the Burmese war arrested this excellent appropriation of an unpopular tax. Adjoining this serai is a neglected garden, planted with fine old mangoe-trees, in which are three beautiful tombs raised over two princes and a princess of the imperial family. Each consists of a large terrace, with vaulted apartments beneath it, in

the central one of which is a tomb like a stone coffin, richly carved. Above is a very lofty circular apartment, covered by a dome richly painted within, and without carved yet more beautifully. All these are very solemn and striking, rich, but not florid or gaudy, and completely giving the lie to the notion common in England, which regards all Eastern architecture as in a bad taste and 'barbarous.'

"The houses of the civil servants of the Company are at some distance, both from the fort and the town, extending along a small rising ground, in a line from the Ganges to the Jumna. They are mere bungalows, inferior, both in size and ornament, to those at any station I have yet seen in these provinces. The situation is, however, pleasant and healthy. The city of Allahabad is small, with very poor houses and narrow, irregular streets, and confined to the banks of the Jumna."*

"In the centre of the fort," Lord Valentia says, "is a Hindoo temple, the top of which is level with the ground. I descended into it by a long, sloping passage, and found it square and supported by pillars. In the centre is the *Lingam*, and at the western end is a dead, forked tree. Behind is a narrow passage, which, the Brahmin assured me, passed from hence to Delhi. As a man could enter it only on his hands and knees, the journey would be rather tedious. The heat was most oppressive; I therefore passed quickly upwards, observing several other small statues in my way. This temple is called *Patal-pooree* by the Hindoos, in which word some people wish to discover the ancient Palibothra. It is, at any rate, of very great antiquity, and is one of the holy bathing-places. Many Brah-

* Heber, vol. i, pp. 441—443.

mins and fakeers, with their flags stuck in the sand, were performing their ablutions underneath the fort, on the Ganges side."*

"The ancient name of Allahabad," Abulfazel says, "was *Piyaug* (*Prayag*). His Majesty (the Emperor Akbar) gave it the name of Allahabad, and built a stone fort, in which are many magnificent edifices. The Hindoos call this spot the king of worshipped places, because near to it is the junction of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Sirsootty, although there is not any distinct branch of the latter visible here."† The Hindoos assert, that it joins the other two under ground. By the Brahmins, the place is still called

* Valentia, vol. i. p. 169. "I visited, in the fort, a subterraneous cave filled with pillars and idols, and having within its dark recesses, a tree of ancient growth, and a sacred spring, of which many strange tales are related. During the reign of Moorish persecution, here they concealed their idols; here they stole to perform the rites of their superstition....On the small point of land at which the rivers join their waters, sit numbers of Brahmins, known by their distinguishing flags, who receive the sums each pilgrim must pay for performing his ablutions, seal them, sell amulets, certificates, and Ganges water; to be conveyed many hundred miles distant by the purchasers. Does this picture rouse your indignation, reader? Learn, then, that one-half of the receipts arising from the dues paid at this and all other places of superstitious resort, throughout India, enters the coffers of the Honourable Company. A sepoy sentinel near the spot, boasted of the privilege he enjoyed: as, being in our service, he was exempted from the usual fine; paying a smaller sum for permission to dip his body in the sanctifying stream at this blessed place." Sketches of India, p. 183—185. In 1812, 13, the number of pilgrims was 218,792; and the amount of collections and fines, 224,473 rupees. In 1815, 16, they were under 80,000 rupees. Hamilton, vol. i. p. 301.

† *Ayeen Akbary*, vol. i. p. 30. The Emperor Akbar is said to have been very partial to Allahabad. Almost immediately after mentioning this city, Abulfazel adds: "It is astonishing that, when the planet Jupiter enters the constellation Leo, a hill rises out of the middle of the Ganges, and remains for a month; so that people go upon it and perform divine worship!"

Bhat Prayag, or, by way of eminence, *Prayag* simply, this being the most sacred confluence.* Following the course of the river, Allahabad is 820 miles from the sea; but the travelling distance from Calcutta is only 550 miles; from Benares, 53; from Lucknow, 127; from Agra, 296; and from Delhi, 412 miles. It stands in lat. 25° 27′ N.; long. 81° 50′ E. The population, exclusive of the garrison, is estimated, according to Hamilton, at 20,000 souls. "The antiquity of the place," Tennant says, "is supported, not only by the tales of ancient tradition, but by large fields of rubbish, which seem to attest its former splendour, as well as its remote origin. The soil for several miles in the vicinity of the fort, consists of mortar, broken pottery, and brick-dust......The straggling huts cover a space of five miles. Nine tenths of the buildings are of mud, reared upon the foundations of more substantial edifices of brick, which have long since fallen to decay."†

While Bishop Heber remained here, awaiting the arrival of tents from Cawnpoor, he had the opportunity of seeing something of the Ramayuna festival, which consists of a sort of dramatic representation, during many successive days, of Rama's history and adventures. "The first evening," he says, "I went to the *show*, for such it is now considered, and so entirely divested of every religious character as to be attended even by Mussulmans without scruple. I found Rama, his brother Luchmun, and his betrothed wife Seeta, represented by three children of about twelve years

* The other *prayags* or sacred confluences are in the province of Serinagur, at the junction of the Alaknunda with other streams.

† Tennant, vol. ii. pp. 255, 6. Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 299—301.

old, seated in *durbar*, under an awning in the principal street of the Sepoy lines, with a great crowd round them, some fanning them, (of which, poor things, they had great need,) some blowing horns and beating gongs and drums, and the rest shouting till the air rang again. The two heroes were very fine boys, and acted their parts admirably. Each had a gilt bow in his left hand, and a sabre in his right; their naked bodies were almost covered with gilt ornaments and tinsel; they had high tinsel crowns on their heads, their foreheads and bodies spotted with charcoal, chalk, and vermilion; and altogether, they perfectly resembled the statues of Hindoo deities,

> 'Except that of their eyes alone
> The twinkle shewed they were not stone.'

Poor little Seeta, wrapt up in a gorgeous veil of flimsy finery, and tired to death, had dropped her head on her breast, and seemed happily insensible to all which was going on. The Brahmin sepoys, who bore the principal part in the play, made room, with great solicitude, for us to see. I asked a good many questions, and obtained very ready answers in much the same way, and with no more appearance of reverence and devotion, that one should receive from an English mob at a puppet-show. 'I see Rama, Seeta, Luchmun, but where is Hunimân?' (the famous monkey-general.) 'Hunimân,' was the answer, 'is not yet come; but that man,' pointing to a great stout soldier of singularly formidable exterior, 'is Hunimân, and he will soon arrive.' The man began laughing as if half ashamed of his destination, but now took up the conversation, telling me, that 'next day was to be a far prettier play than I now saw, for Seeta was to be stolen away by Ravanu and his attendant evil spirits,

that Rama and Luchmun were to go to the jungle in great sorrow to seek for her,'

('Rama, your Rama! to greenwood must hie!')

and that 'then (laughing again) I and my army shall come, and we shall fight bravely, bravely.' The evening following, I was engaged, but the next day I repeated my visit. I was then too late for the best part of the show, which had consisted of a first and unsuccessful attack by Rama and his army on the fortress of the gigantic ravisher. That fortress, however, I saw,—an enclosure of bamboos, covered with paper and painted with doors and windows, within which was a frightful paper giant, fifteen feet high, with ten or twelve arms, each grasping either a sword, an arrow, a bow, a battle-axe, or a spear. At his feet sat poor little Seeta, as motionless as before, guarded by two figures to represent demons. The brothers, in a splendid palkee, were conducting the retreat of their army; the divine Hunimân, as naked and almost as hairy as the animal whom he represented, was gamboling before them, with a long tail tied round his waist, a mask to represent the head of a baboon, and two great painted clubs in his hands. His army followed, a number of men with similar tails and masks, their bodies dyed with indigo, and also armed with clubs. I was never so forcibly struck with the identity of Rama and Bacchus. Here were before me Bacchus, his brother Ampelus, the Satyrs, (smeared with wine-lees,) and the great Pan commanding them. The fable, however, can hardly have originated in India, and probably has been imported both by the Greeks and Brahmins from Cashmere, or some other central country where the grape grows; unless we suppose that the grape has been merely an accidental appendage to Bacchus's character, arising

from the fact that the festival occurs during the vintage. There yet remained two or three days of pageant, before Seeta's release, purification, and re-marriage to her hero lover; but for this conclusion I did not remain in Allahabad. At Benares, I am told, the show is on such occasions really splendid. The Raja attends in state with all the principal inhabitants of the place: he lends his finest elephants and jewels to the performers, who are children of the most eminent families, and trained up by long previous education. I saw enough, however, at Allahabad to satisfy my curiosity. The show is now a very innocent one, but there was a hideous and accursed practice in 'the good old times,' before the British police was established, at least if all which the Mussulmans and English say is to be believed, which shews the Hindoo superstition in all its horrors. The poor children who had been thus feasted, honoured, and made to contribute to the popular amusement, were, it is asserted, always poisoned in the sweetmeats given them the last day of the show, that it might be said their spirits were absorbed into the deities whom they had represented! Nothing of the sort can now be done. The children, instead of being brought for the purpose, from a distance, by the Priests, are the children of neighbours, whose prior and subsequent history is known; and Rama and Seeta now grow old like other boys and girls." *

FROM ALLAHABAD TO LUCKNOW.

ABOVE Allahabad, the Ganges is very shallow, and the spits of sand which stretch out alternately from each side, render the navigation circuitous and diffi-

* Heber, vol. i. pp. 446—450.

cult. The reaches are, however, very fine, with frequent villages on both sides. The next place of any importance in ascending the river, is Currah, which extends for above a mile along the south-western bank; on the summit are the ruins of an old fort. A new one of brick, with a stone gateway and four round towers, has been begun, but never finished. The decay of this place, which was, at one time, the residence of the *soubahdar*, is said to have been hastened by Asof ud Dowlah, who demolished many of the edifices, to procure stone for his buildings at Lucknow, from which it is distant ninety-three miles, and forty-five miles N. W. of Allahabad. Within a mile from Currah, on a smaller branch of the river, is another populous town, with handsome brick buildings, named Sezadpore. About forty miles higher up is Dalmow, situated on the eastern bank, which is covered there with handsome pagodas, ghauts, and a citadel of some extent. The next place on the Allahabad side, is the small town of Surajepoor, pleasantly situated, with several pagodas and ghauts. The country is flat, excepting the high bank of the river, on which, in general, the villages are situated, surrounded with mango-*topes*. Not unfrequently, a little pagoda is seen peeping from among the trees; and the river expands into reaches of eight or nine miles.* A few hours above Surajepoor, is Cawnpoor, the chief military station in the ceded provinces of the Doab; situated in lat. 26° 30′ N., long. 80° 21′ E., and forty-nine miles S. W. from Lucknow.

Bishop Heber journeyed from Allahabad to Cawnpoor by *dawk*, preceded by a motley train, " consisting of twenty-four camels, eight carts drawn by bullocks, twenty-four horse servants, (including those

* Valentia, vol. i. pp. 164—6.

of Archdeacon Corrie, and Mr. Lushington,) ten poneys, forty bearers and *coolies* of different descriptions, twelve tent-pitchers, and a guard of twenty sepoys under a native officer. His Lordship's own servants were all armed with spears, to which many of them had added "sabres of the longest growth;" and the rear was brought up by some mounted *gens d'armes*, and sword-and-buckler men on foot. "I had been disposed," he says, "to wonder at Colonel Francklin's counsel to buy spears for my servants, and at the escort which had been ordered me; but I soon found that, whether necessary or not, such precautions were at least customary. Every traveller whom we met, even the common people going to market, had either swords and shields, spears, or match-lock guns; and one man had a bow and quiver of arrows,—in that circumstance, as well as in his dress and person, resembling a Circassian warrior. Both men and women whom we met on the road, I thought decidedly taller, fairer, and finer people than the Bengalees. Some of the sepoys of a regiment who passed us, were of a complexion so little darker than those of Europe, that I at first took them for Europeans. Every thing seems gradually to assimilate to the scenes and habits of the eastern and southern parts of Europe. The people no longer talk of their daily *rice*, but say, 'It is time to eat bread to day.' Instead of the softness and gentleness so apparent in the Indians whom we first saw, these men have a proud step, a stern eye, and a rough, loud voice; such as might be expected from people living almost always in the open air, and in a country where, till its acquisition by the English, no man was sure that he might not at any moment be compelled to fight for his life or property. Much of this necessity is passed away, but something yet

remains. The nation is still one of lawless and violent habits, containing many professed thieves, and many mercenary soldiers, who, in the present tranquillity of the country, are at any instant ready to become thieves; and the general sense of moral feeling is, in this particular, so low, that one ceases to wonder that banditti are from time to time heard of."*

The first stage from Allahabad was to Cooseah, distant sixteen miles, where the Bishop found his tents pitched in a wild country of ruins and jungle. The next day, he proceeded twelve miles, to the second customary station, Cussiah.† ....The country through which he passed, was wilder, worse cultivated, and more thinly peopled than any he had seen in India. The few patches of cultivation consisted of maize; and the prospect was filled up with small woods picturesquely scattered over a champaign country, with few signs of habitations, and most of these in ruins. The third evening, the Bishop's encampment was amid a vast field of tombs and ruins at Camaulpoor near Currah; a place of bad name for robbery, and where it was deemed necessary to strengthen the guard at night. "The inhabited part of Currah is still, however, considerable; and we soon found," adds the Bishop, "that there were people in the neighbourhood, by the number of little shops at once set up under the trees around us, with an eye to our custom.

"Currah owes its fame, it seems, and stately buildings, to a celebrated saint named Camaul Shek, who, with his son and several of his disciples, lies buried here. The tomb is still in tolerable repair, which is more than can be said of any of the others, which have been splendid, but are now mere ruins. It is a square

* Heber, vol. ii. p. 5.

† Cooseah and Cussiah are, probably, the same word.

tower, pierced on each front with elegantly carved Gothic door-ways, and surmounted with a dome of a very judicious form, and harmonizing with the general character of the building; not being semicircular, but conical, and in the form of a Gothic arch. Besides this large chapel are many tombs of different sizes, from small terraces with *kiblas* for prayers, down to stone coffins, as they are sometimes called in England, such as are found in our old cathedrals."*

Here the Bishop halted during the ensuing day, the Christian sabbath, and then proceeded through a tract of country of a similar aspect,,. to a station called Choubee-serai; the following day, a stage of fourteen miles, to Mundi-serai; and the next evening reached Futtehpoor,—described as a large place with some tolerably good houses, and a very elegant little mosque, recently erected, and presenting more of the appearance of prosperity than any town that the Bishop had seen since leaving Allahabad. At nine miles further is the village of Kuleânpoor, where there is a *serai*; the next stage is a *serai* at Searsoul; and another sixteen miles brings the traveller to Cawnpoor.

"Cawnpoor is a place of great extent, the cantonments being six miles from one extremity to the other, but of very scattered population. There are many handsome mosques; and the view of the town, from the course, gives the idea of a city. The European houses are most of them large and roomy, standing in extensive compounds, and built one story high, with sloping roofs, first thatched and then tiled; a roof which is found better than any other to exclude the heat of the sun, while it is less exposed to the accidents to which a mere thatched roof is liable......The shops are large, and though far from showy, contain some good things,

* Heber, vol. ii. pp. 8, 9.

which are sold very little dearer than in Calcutta. The necessaries of life are barely half the price. There is no regular Christian church.* Divine service is performed alternate mornings and evenings, in a thatched but convenient bungalow, and in a riding-house adjoining the cavalry barracks......Being of merely modern origin, the town has no fine ancient buildings to shew; the European architecture is confined to works of absolute necessity, and marked by the greatest simplicity; and few places of its size can be named, where there is so absolutely nothing to see."

The unfavourable account of the climate of Cawnpoor, which the Bishop had received at Calcutta, was not confirmed by the resident inhabitants, who said, that, during the rains, it was a very desirable situation; that the cold months are remarkably dry and bracing; and that the hot winds are not worse than in most parts of the Doab.† The great inconveniences of the place are, its glare and dust, which the multitude of trees planted in all directions, promised greatly to obviate. There is a military hospital here, and a regimental school on the Madras system; both in excellent order. A more extensive institution has been established for the children both of Europeans and natives; a liberal subscription from the English residents having been aided by a Government grant. It has an excellent house, with good school-rooms, and an English master and mistress at a large salary; but Bishop Heber found it very incompetently conducted.

Crossing the Ganges at a ferry, where the river,

* A place of worship has since been erected by private subscription.

† Lord Valentia thought Cawnpoor the hottest place (in September) that he had visited.

though shallow, is still not far from a mile and a half in width, the Bishop entered the territories of the sovereign of Oude. It was now deemed advisable to increase his escort from thirty to forty-five sepoys; and his Majesty sent an *aumeen* with two *chobdars* and ten *suwarrs* (horsemen) to meet him, in order to secure supplies during the march. The road was excessively bad, through a broken country, naturally marshy, and now rendered almost impassable by recent rains. In one place, the palankeens were floated over a pool of deep water, by the help of eight kedjeree-pots, which were found sufficient to support the vehicle. The Bishop himself rode an elephant; exchanging it, during the pleasantest time of the morning, for his Turkoman horse. Of the state of the country, a striking evidence was afforded by an occurrence which took place on the third day. The servants who had gone before with the breakfast tents, on approaching a large walled village, found the place in a state of siege. A large sum of money, on its way to the treasury at Lucknow, had attracted a number of the neighbouring peasantry, who were assembled with their weapons outside the walls, waiting for the departure of the treasure; while sentries were posted by the escort on all the old towers, and the gates were fast closed. One of the Bishop's servants applied in vain for a passage: the warders were civil, but peremptory, pointing to the lurking enemy, and asking how they should endanger the treasure of the "Refuge of the World." At length, when more of the sepoys came up, finding that the party were strong enough to afford them protection, they gladly opened the gates, and the armed peasantry dispersed. The bulk of the population still evidently appeared to be Hindoo. All the villages have pagodas, while many are without mosques. By

far the greater part of the people on the road, bore on their foreheads the marks of caste ; and it being the time of a Hindoo festival, the drumming, braying, and clattering of their noisy music, were heard from every little collection of houses that was passed through. Bishop Heber was surprised, after all he had heard of the disturbed and oppressed state of the country, to find it very generally under the plough. The fourth day, he found " no other road than such tracks as are seen across ploughed fields in England, the whole country being cultivated, though not enclosed, and much intersected by small rivers and nullahs."

At about six miles from Lucknow, the Bishop was met by Captain Salmon, aide-de-camp to the British Resident, Mr. Ricketts, and by an officer of the King, at the head of a considerable *suwarree* (retinue) of elephants and horses, sent forward to do honour to the distinguished visiter. The train of elephants, splendidly equipped with silver howdahs, was sufficient to accommodate more than three times the number of the party. " A good many *suwarrs*, in red and yellow, followed Captain Salmon; and a most irregular and picturesque body of infantry with swords and shields, long matchlock guns, and other guns of every sort and size, spears like spits, composed (sheath and all) of iron, and some silvered over, large triangular green banners, and every thing most unlike the appearance of European war,—made up the *cortège* of Meer Hussun Khan. The whole formed a stage procession of the most interesting and showy kind, in which there was no regularity and little real magnificence, (for the dresses of the men and trappings of the elephants were all the worse for wear, and the silver howdahs did not bear a close examination,) but in which flowing and picturesque dresses, glowing

colours, numbers, and the majestic size of the animals which formed the most prominent part of the groupe, produced an effect more pleasing in the eye of a poet or an artist, than the sprucest parade of an English review."

While the Bishop was changing his elephant, the Writer of the court circular stepped up to him, and begged to know his Lordship's name and titles at full length, in order to make a report of them to "the Asylum of the World."* As he mounted his new elephant, the attendants burst forth into the same sort of acclamation of "*Bismillah! Ullah Akbar! Ullah Kureen!*" which is usual on the arrival or departure of a Mohammedan grandee; followed by a proclamation of the Lord Bishop Sahib's name and title, "so mangled as name never was before."†

LUCKNOW.

Never was English prelate saluted with such honours as graced the entrance of "the Head of the British Church in India," into the capital of Oude. "We now proceeded," says his Lordship, "three elephants abreast; that on which Mr. Lushington and I rode, in the centre, Meer Hussun Khan on the right, and Captain Salmon on the left; with the motley multitude before, and the spare elephants behind. We thus ad-

* Lord Valentia's arrival was thus announced to the Nabob by the court messenger: "*Lord Saheb ka bhanja, Company ki nawasa teshref lau*,"—literally, the Lord (Wellesley)'s sister's son, the grandson of Mrs. Company, is arrived. These titles, his Lordship says, "originated from a belief of the natives that the India Company is an old woman, and that the governors-general are her children."—Valentia, vol. i. p. 104.

† See page 140 of this Volume. During the Bishop's stay in Lucknow, his chobdars and bearers learned the practice, and his Lordship felt unwilling to check the "pious custom.

vanced through a very considerable population, and crowded, mean houses of clay, with the filthiest lanes between them that I ever went through, and so narrow that we were often obliged to reduce our front; and even a single elephant did not always pass very easily. A swarm of beggars occupied every angle and the steps of every door; and nearly all the remaining population were as much loaded with arms as the inhabitants of the country; a circumstance which told ill for the police of the town, but added considerably to its picturesque effect. Grave men in palankeens, counting their beads and looking like *moullahs*, had all two or three sword and buckler lackeys attending on them. People of more consequence, on their elephants, had each a *suwarree* of shield, spear, and gun, little inferior to that by which we were surrounded. Even the lounging people of the lower ranks in the streets and at the shop doors, had their shields over their shoulders, and carried their swords sheathed, in one hand. As we advanced, the town began to improve in point of buildings, though the streets remained equally narrow and dirty. We passed some pretty mosques and some large houses, built like the native houses in Calcutta; and the bazars seemed well filled. At last, we entered a very handsome street indeed, wider than the High-street at Oxford, and having some distant resemblance to it in the colour of its buildings, and the general form and Gothic style of the greater part of them. We saw but little of it, however, as we immediately turned up through some folding gates into a sort of close, with good-looking houses and small gardens round it, and a barrack and guard-house at its entrance. One of these houses, I was told, belonged to the Resident; another was his banqueting-house, containing apartments for his guests; and a third was

pointed out as that which the King had assigned receive me and my party; here, therefore, our companions took their leave, and Mr. Lushington and I found ourselves in a very prettily arranged and well-furnished dwelling, with excellent stables and accommodations for our numerous followers."

Lucknow (*Lakshmanavati*),* which was first made the seat of government by Asof ud Dowlah, in 1775, stands on the south side of the Goomty, which is navigable for boats throughout the year; in latitude 26° 51′ N., longitude 80° 50′ E. The travelling distance from Calcutta, by the nearest road, is about 650 miles; from Delhi, 280; from Agra, 202; and from Benares, 189. The population, in 1800, was roughly estimated at 300,000,† but is supposed to

* "Lacnou or Lacnav (Lucknow) does not yield to Adjudea (Oude) in antiquity, and surpasses it in point of grandeur and populousness. It was founded by Latshman or Lacman, brother of Rama, who gave his name to this city. It was repaired by Bikarmajit, King of Oojein. On the hither side of the Goomty, is an eminence on which Latshman had his residence. Aurengzebe, to extinguish all recollection of it, constructed on the site, a mosque with two minarets."—Bernoulli, vol. i. p. 256.

† Hamilton, vol. i. p. 348. Tennant says, half-a-million of souls. The street which leads from the western suburbs to the palace, he asserts to be upwards of five miles in length, "more than half of which you wade through mire and filth. During the lapse of time, the streets sink from cleaning, or by the blowing away of dust while dry, so that they are fallen in the middle to the depth of ten or twelve feet, and are so narrow that two hackaries cannot pass." He never witnessed, he says, "so many varied forms of wretchedness, filth, and vice." Tennant, vol. ii. p. 404. Tieffenthaler, who spent five years in the province (about 1766—1771), gives the following account of the extent of the city. "Its length, from Recabgans on the south to Issagans on the north, is a mile and a half; its breadth, rather more than a mile; the circuit about four miles." (The German mile is probably meant, about three and one-third miles English.) "It has a great number of houses of brick, but the greater part are of mud, covered with tiles, situated on scattered eminences. The larger part of the city extends



have declined since then. Among the inhabitants are a considerable number of Christians of one kind or another. Besides the numerous dependents of the Residency, the King has in his employ a great many Europeans and half-castes. There are also many tradesmen of both these descriptions, and a motley assemblage of adventurers of all nations and religious sects.* The Roman Catholics are mostly Portuguese, or their degenerate descendants, who have a small chapel, served by a Propaganda Franciscan priest. Bishop Heber had numerous congregations here, both at the cantonments and the Residency.†

The British subsidiary force, which is at the disposal of the Resident, is stationed five miles from the town, on the other side of the broad and rapid stream of the Goomty; and in the case of any sudden commotion in the city, either King or Resident would have to rely entirely on the single company which is always on guard at the Residency. The Bishop heard from the English, both at Lucknow and Cawnpoor, alarming accounts of the anarchical condition, the frequent affrays, the hatred of the European and

towards the East, and is seated on an elevation: the smallest part is in a bottom. The streets are narrow and offensive *(puantes)*, because the natives are accustomed to throw all sorts of filth into them. The inequality of the soil is such, that you can walk in this city only by winding paths alternately ascending and descending." —Bernoulli, vol. i. p. 256.

* Among others, Bishop Heber had applications for charity made to him by a Spaniard from Lima in Peru, who had come thus far "in search of service;" and by a Silesian Jew, who pretended to have been an officer in the Russian army.

† At Lucknow, the excellent Abdoul Messeeh, sometime master of the jewels at the court of the Vizier, for many years a Christian catechist, and latterly an ordained clergyman of the English church, finished his course, March 4, 1827, aged 57.

Christian name, the robberies and murders for which this city is notorious; and he was cautioned repeatedly never to go into the populous quarters, except on an elephant, and attended by some of the Resident's or the King's *chuprasces.* "It so happened, however," he says, "that, the morning before this counsel was given, Mr. Lushington and I had gone on horseback through almost the whole place, along streets and alleys not less narrow and far dirtier than those of Benares, and in a labyrinth of buildings which obliged us to ask our way at almost every turn. So far from having *chuprasees*, we had, as it happened, only one *saees* between us, and he as much a stranger as ourselves; yet, we found invariable civility and good nature, people backing their carts and elephants to make room for us, and displaying on the whole a far greater spirit of hospitality and accommodation than two foreigners would have met with in London. One old man only, when my horse shewed considerable reluctance to pass an elephant, said, shaking his head, in an expostulating tone, 'This is not a good road for *sahibs.*' Some of the instances, indeed, which were related of Europeans being insulted and assaulted in the streets and neighbourhood of Lucknow, were clearly traced to insolent or overbearing conduct on the part of the complainants themselves; and though, of course, there are bad and worthless people every where,—though, where every body is armed, and there is no efficient police, street-brawls will be less infrequent than in cities more fortunately circumstanced,—and though, by night, narrow streets ill-watched and unlighted must be dangerous,—I am not disposed to think that the people of Oude are habitually ferocious or blood-thirsty, or that they are influenced by any peculiar animosity against the

English or the Christian name. It is certain, however, that they have not a good character." *

There are many stately khans and some handsome mosques and pagodas, scattered in different corners of the wretched alleys, of which the city chiefly consists; but the most striking buildings in Lucknow are, as in other Mohammedan capitals, the royal tombs and the *Imaumbârah*, or cathedral. The latter is pronounced by Lord Valentia to be certainly the most beautiful building he had seen in India. It was erected by Asof-ud-Dowla, for the double purpose of celebrating the *Moharrem*, and of serving as a burial-place for himself. It consists of two quadrangular courts, the second rising with a steep ascent above the first. On one side of the inner court is a very beautiful mosque, and on the other the *Bolee* palace. The *Imaumbârah* itself is "a noble gallery, in the midst of which, under a brilliant tabernacle of silver, cut glass, and precious stones, lie the remains of its founder." † During the

* Heber, vol. ii. pp. 63, 4. It will probably be thought, that the respect shewn to the distinguished Visiter by the populace, formed no test of their general conduct towards foreigners.

† Heber, vol. ii. p. 65. Lord Valentia's description of the tomb is so different as to lead us to suppose this "tabernacle" to be of recent erection. "In the middle apartment is his tomb, level with the ground. The centre is earth covered with a scanty herbage, and surrounded with a broad margin of white marble, in which sentences from the Koran are inlaid in black. At one end lies the sword, turban, &c., which he wore when he died. Over it is a rich canopy, supported by four pillars, covered with cloth of gold now in decay. Unfortunately, it was necessary to place his tomb diagonally, that he might lie in a proper Mohammedan position respecting Mecca; and consequently, instead of an ornament, it is an unsightly object."—Valentia, vol. i. p. 121. Although, in the text, his Lordship describes the edifice as consisting of *three* long apartments, *four* are mentioned in a note. (App. No. IV.) Both the *Imaum-bârah* and the *Roumi derwasseh* were injured by the earthquake of Sept. 1, 1803. The former was repaired in 1815, by the reigning Nabob, Ghazi ud Deen, and is thus described by

celebration of the *Moharrem*, the Vizier used to suspend lustres in rows, the whole length of this chamber, filled with wax candles, the light of which, reflected by the vari-coloured cut glass, had a brilliant effect. The floor was likewise covered with candles in glass branches, leaving only space sufficient for the crowd to pass. In one of the adjoining apartments, the whole floor was occupied with a range of about twenty silver shrines or cenotaphs, raised on platforms about three feet high, in which were placed the supposed tombs of the Imaums: these were also brilliantly illuminated by girandoles and by branches placed around. The whole festival, in the time of Asof-ud-Dowlah, who was a Sheah, was celebrated with great splendour. Adjoining the edifice is the *Roumi Durwazeh* (Constantinople Gate), built after the model of one of the gates of the Turkish capital; at least as the Vizier supposed. It is of a light, elegant, but fantastic architecture, partaking of the Gothic and of the Moresco, but with nothing of the Grecian style. The Imaumbârah itself, the mosque attached to it, and the gateways that lead to it, are beautiful specimens of this architecture. "From the brilliant white of the composition, and the minute delicacy of the workmanship, an enthusiast might suppose," says Lord Valentia, "that genii had been the artificers." It reminded Bishop Heber of the Kremlin at Moscow; but, both

Hamilton. "It has a centre arched room, 167 feet by 52, with an octagon room at each end, and a raised set of rooms or open arches in the rear of the centre, the whole length, with fountains and basins of water under each arch. In front is an arcaded verandah, forming a very fine oblong room, narrower than the centre room, with a pierced or open work and dwarf balustrade near the spring of the ceiling. No wood is used in any part of the building, which is wholly composed of brick and masonry."—Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 347, 8.

in splendour and in taste, the latter falls very short of it.* He had never seen, he remarks, an architectural view which pleased him more from its richness and variety, as well as from the proportions and general good taste of the principal features. Close to this fine groupe, is a large and handsome, but dull and neglected-looking pile, the palace appropriated to the unfortunate widows and concubines of deceased sovereigns.†

None of the other royal palaces, Bishop Heber says, are either very large or striking. That in which the King received his Right Reverend visiter, and which is close to the Residency, consists of "a cluster of mean courts, with some morsels of shewy architecture intermingled, like the offices of a college." Lord Valentia, however, describes the palace in which he was received by the then reigning Nawaub (Saadut Ali), and which was built by him, as a handsome edifice, and within, "a comfortable English gentleman's house, with suitable furniture, beds, prints, and chairs. The room at dinner was very well lighted up, and a band of music (which the Nawaub had purchased from Colonel Morris) played English tunes during the whole time. The scene was so singular and so contrary to all my ideas of Asiatic manners, that I could hardly persuade myself that the whole was not a masquerade. An English apartment, a band in English regimentals,

* "The details a good deal resemble those of Eaton (Lord Grosvenor's seat); but the extent is much greater, and the parts are larger."

† "The principal edifice is, without contradiction, that which is called the Fivefold Palace *(palais quintuple)*, situated at a short distance from the southern bank of the Goomty, on an elevation; it is built in the form of a castle, fortified by walls and high towers. There is a very lofty gate, and an immense fore-court, which is before a high building, supported by arcades, where they beat the drum."—Bernoulli, vol. i. p. 256.

playing English tunes; the room lighted by magnificent English girandoles; English tables, chairs, and looking-glasses; an English service of plate; English knives, forks, spoons, wine-glasses, decanters, and cut-glass vases;—how could these convey any idea that we were seated in the court of an Asiatic prince? The profusion of attendants was indeed Asiatic. After dinner, the bottle passed freely for a short time. About eight, we rose to retire, and after the compliment of *attar*, were conducted to the head of the steps, where our palankeens were waiting." *

Another palace (at that time occupied by the Vizier's prime minister) is the *Hussein Boug*, situated on the banks of the Goomty. It has a very good garden, surrounded with a wall and terrace with pavilions; and at one end is a garden-house, with a piece of water in front. The *Sungi Dalam*, or stone palace, is "a very elegant building, perfectly in the Eastern style, open on all sides, and supported by pillars. It is, as the name designates, built of stone, but the whole is painted of a deep red colour, except the domes that cover the towers at the corner: these are gilt all over, and the effect is extremely rich. The centre room is large; two narrower on each side, make the whole building a square, with circular towers at the four corners. It is raised one story from the ground, and a large terrace connects it with a smaller but similar building. A basin of water on one side, extends to the *hummaum* attached to the palace."†

Abulfazel describes the suburbs of Lucknow as very delightful; and they would seem to be not wholly undeserving of the character. A pleasant ride of three miles leads to a small summer palace of the King, called *Dil-Koushar* (Heart's Delight). The house itself is

* Valentia, vol. i. pp. 108, 9. † Ib. p. 131.

"small and ... and with a high front like a grenadier's cap, and two ...d parks, like some of the old French and German chateaux;" but the park it stands in, is extensive and sufficiently wild to afford a picturesque variety of scene. Some parts of it reminded Bishop Heber of the few remaining glades of Needwood Forest. There are not only neelghaus and the common Indian deer, but some noble red deer, which contribute much, together with a broad and excellent drive through the park, and the form of its lodge, to give it an English air. This, however, is from time to time destroyed by the tall jungle grass, with its beautiful silver tufts, and the monkeys. There are one or two other "very English-looking country-houses near Lucknow;" (the property of the King;) and from the Residency all the way down the principal street, and afterwards through the park of *Dil-Koushar*, and the neighbouring drives, Lucknow bears more resemblance to some of the smaller European capitals, ("Dresden, for instance,") than any thing which the Bishop had seen in India.*

Another popular drive is to Constantia, originally the residence of General Martin, a Frenchman, and originally a common soldier, who rose, by other means than any brilliant service, to the first rank in the Company's army, and has left behind him no enviable

* Lord Valentia mentions a country-seat of the Nawaub's about three miles from the city, which he says was called Baroun, "built by himself" (Saadut Ali) "after a plan of his own. The architecture is an imitation of Grecian, with many faults; yet, a very fine portico, rising the whole height of the house, gives a considerable degree of grandeur to the front. It is a vast pile, but contains only one large room on each floor. The furniture is European, and the walls are ornamented with portraits of his English friends and the different generals who have visited this place." Baroun would seem to be the name of the village. Bernoulli says: "*Baraun (ou Baraoun) est un grand village éloigné un quart de mille tout au plus de la rive ultérieure du Goumati, et de 2½ à l'O. N. O. de Lacnau.*"

fame. Both the house and the grounds are in the worst possible taste. The former, described by Lord Valentia as "a strange, fantastical building, of every species of architecture, and adorned with minute stucco fret-work, enormous red lions, with lamps instead of eyes, Chinese mandarins and ladies with shaking heads, and all the gods and goddesses of the heathen mythology.* It has a handsome effect at a distance, from a lofty tower in the centre, with four turrets; but, on a nearer approach, the wretched taste of the ornaments excites only contempt. A more extraordinary combination of Gothic towers and Grecian pilasters was never before devised. Within, the hall is very fine, but the other apartments are small and gloomy, loaded with stucco-work, painted yellow to imitate gilding." In an arched vault, beneath the centre of the house, is the General's tomb, an altar-shaped sarcophagus, over which is a bust, both of white marble; it is surrounded with four figures of grenadiers, as large as life, with their arms reversed. The whole, Bishop Heber says, would have had an extremely good effect, had not the grenadiers (which Martin intended to have been of marble) been paltry plaster figures, painted after nature, in red coats. To the house are attached a very noble garden and an extensive mango-*tope*. The country around is a dead flat of barren sand: indeed, "an uglier spot could not have been pitched upon in the vicinity of Lucknow."

Among the other "sights" at Lucknow, is the royal menagerie, containing a great number of scarce and curious animals, but in far worse order than that

* Many of these were demolished, and most of them injured, by the earthquake of September 1, 1803. All the furniture of the house was sold on the death of the proprietor, and the mirrors and lustres now adorn the Government-House at Calcutta.

at Barrackpoor; and on the other side of the Goomty, in a well wooded park, is a large assemblage of different varieties of cows, camels, and deer, with a few large rhinoceroses; also, a poultry-yard of beautiful pigeons. On the river is a steam-boat fitted up like a brig of war. The late King was extremely fond of mechanical inventions, and had in his service an English officer, who was a very skilful mechanist. His portrait-painter was Mr. Home, brother to the celebrated surgeon of that name in London.

Mirza Ghazi-ud-deen Hyder, the late sovereign of Oude, succeeded his father, Saadut Ali, as Nawaub Vizier, in July 1814. Saadut Ali, who had been raised to the *soubahdaree* of Oude upon the deposal of Vizir Ali in 1798,* was himself a man of talent and acquirements, fond of business and well qualified for it, but, in his latter days, unhappily addicted to drunkenness. He is said, however, to have left to his successor, "a country with six millions of people, a fertile soil, a most compact frontier, a clear revenue of two millions sterling, and upwards of two millions in the treasury; with a well regulated system of finance, a peasantry tolerably well contented, no army to maintain except for police and parade, and every thing likely to produce an auspicious reign." † The

* See vol. ii. p. 194. Asof-ud-Dowla succeeded his father, Sujah-ud-Dowlah, in 1774, and died in 1797. His son, Vizir Ali, was set aside, on a charge of spuriousness, in favour of Saadut Ali, his uncle. See p. 225, of the same volume.

† Heber, vol. ii. p. 77. Lord Valentia, who resided four months at his capital, speaks of him as a man of most pleasing manners and princely deportment, lively and entertaining in conversation, and with a mind well stored with Asiatic literature. "The language of the eyes," says the noble Traveller, "is in great use at the courts of Asiatic princes, and by them they issue many orders. I one day understood a sign that his Highness made to a servant, and told him, through Major Ouseley, that his eyes spoke English: No, said he, yours understand Persian. To his long residence

young Nawaub's aversion to business and attachment to the chase, and his blind confidence in favourites, soon led to the dissipation of these golden prospects. Of the two millions which his father had left, one was lent to the Governor General, to carry on the Nepaul war.* After a second loan, Lord Hastings encouraged the Vizier to assume the regal dignity; and he accordingly took the title of Abul Muzuffur, Moez-ud-deen, Shah Zamin, Ghazi-ud-deen Hyder, *Padshah.* This step gave great offence to the head of the House of Timour, who, though deprived of even the shadow of imperial power, still clings to the title which confers an imaginary supremacy. The title of vizier had, however, long become unmeaning; and the change was important only as it formally proclaimed the dissolution of an empire which had long ceased to exist. The new monarch gained little by the accession of dignity: he soon found himself compelled to call in the aid of British troops, in order to quell the disorders to which the mal-administration of his favourite minister had given rise.† His own soldiers

among the English (during the reign of his brother Asof-ud-Dowlah) may be traced many of his Highness's pursuits and his fondness for every thing European. His Highness has, I think, carried his predilections too far, in abandoning the forms of an Asiatic court, and in living with Europeans as an equal. Saadut Ali was by no means popular when he came to the *musnud*, and his rigid economy (not to give it a harsher name) has not diminished the dislike to him.....The dissatisfaction he might have experienced at the cession of a moiety of his territory, is absorbed in the discovery, that he has more real revenue, and can add more to his treasure, than he did when he paid the East India Company 120 *lacs* of rupees per annum."—Valentia, vol. i. pp. 133—7. See pages 227—30, of our second volume.

* See page 336, note, of our second volume.

† Under Hukeem Mendee, his father's able minister, a gradual reform of the fiscal system had been begun. The fall of this minister was followed by the elevation of a worthless favourite, who enriched himself at the expense of the country.

were so ill paid that it was difficult to keep them together. The artillery, "a beautiful little corps," first mutinied, and then disbanded themselves to the last man. The King had thus no option but either to alter his whole system of fiscal administration, to govern without taxation, or to call in British aid. "That aid," says Bishop Heber, "was demanded and given; and, during the greater part of Lord Hastings's time, this wretched country was pillaged under sanction of the British name, and under the terror of sepoy bayonets, till at length the remonstrances of the British officers employed on the service became so urgent, and the scandal so notorious and so great,—not to omit that the number of the disaffected increased daily, and that, the more parties were sent out in support of the aûmeens, the more were called for,—while every peasant who lost lands or property in the progress of the system, became a decoit and made inroads into the Company's provinces,—that a different course was imperiously forced on Government. Accordingly, the Resident was instructed to urge anew on the King, the adoption of a regular system of leasing the crown dues for a certain number of years, like that adopted in the Company's territories, and leasing them to the zemindars themselves, not to these greedy aûmeens. He was directed also to require proof, before granting the aid of troops, that the sums said to be withheld, were really due. To the first of these proposals, the King answered, that he would introduce the system gradually, and with such modifications as suited his country. He even named a district in which he would begin it; but, though two years have now elapsed, nothing has yet been done. The second was met by sending a number of documents to the Resident, of whose history and authenticity he could know

nothing, but which the officers sent with the detachment declared they believed to be often perfect forgeries. Mr. Ricketts, therefore, about a year ago, declined granting any more military aid, unless the King would, first, immediately carry into effect his promised reform; secondly, unless he would allow an English commissioner, versed in such matters, to accompany each detachment, and determine on the spot the justice of the aûmeen's claim; thirdly, unless he would himself, after the example of his royal ancestors, hold frequent and public *durbar*, to receive petitions from his subjects, and attend to these specific complaints; and fourthly, unless to prevent the constant incursion of robbers from his Majesty's into the Company's territories, he would allow the judge and magistrates of the adjoining districts to pursue and seize decoits within his frontier.

"To these proposals, his answers have been very ingenious and plausible. To the first, he says, that such great changes cannot be the work of a day; that, when half his subjects are in arms against him, is not precisely the time to obtain a fair assessment or a permanent settlement of the land; but if the British will first, as he calls on them in the terms of their treaty to do, put down his rebellious zemindars, destroy their mud-forts, and disarm their people, he will pledge himself to adopt, in course of time, and with due deliberation, such a system as will give satisfaction. To the second, he answers with some reason, that the introduction of English judges and revenue-officers, (for such the proposed commissioners would be) into his country, would make his own officers ciphers, and his own power contemptible, and that he would sooner bid adieu to his crown at once, and turn fakir. To the third, that he has not understood it to be the

custom of either the King of England or the Governor General, to hold such an open *durbar* as they recommend; (nor will those who have seen a Lucknow mob anticipate any beneficial effects from such excessive accessibility;) but, to prove his regard for his people, he has instructed his prime minister to hold a *durbar* for these precise purposes twice a week, who is charged to report all cases of importance to his own ear. The fourth he answers by saying, that it is very hard to accuse him of harbouring robbers, while we refuse him all aid in putting down the very zemindars whose fortresses and fastnesses are the common nests of robbery and rebellion; that, if we help him to subdue his rebels, he will keep his robbers in order himself; but that it would be a cruel mockery to continue to call him a king, if any neighbouring magistrate might enter his dominions at pleasure."

"I can bear witness, certainly," adds his Lordship, "to the truth of the King's statement," (which is afterwards cited,) "that his territories are really in a far better state of cultivation than I had expected to find them. From Lucknow to Sandee, the country is as populous and well cultivated as most of the Company's provinces. The truth perhaps is, that, for more than a year back, since the aid of British troops has been withheld, affairs have been in some respects growing better. The zemindars have, in a few instances, carried their point; the aûmeens have been either driven away entirely, or been forced to a moderate compromise, and the chief actual sufferers at the present moment are, the King, who gets little or nothing even of his undoubted dues, and the traveller, who, unless he has such a guard as I have, had better sleep in a safe skin on the other side of the Ganges. It should be observed, however, that I have as yet

seen no sign of those mud-forts, stockades, and fortresses, on which the zemindars and peasantry are said to rely for safety; that the common people north of Lucknow are, I think, not so universally loaded with arms as those to the southward; and that though I have heard a good deal all the way of the distressed state of the country, as well as its anarchy and lawlessness, except in the single instance I have mentioned, where the treasure was attacked, I have *seen* no signs of either, nor had any reason to suppose that the King's writ does not pass current, or that our aûmeen would have the least difficulty in enforcing it in our favour, even without the small payment which I give, and which is evidently accepted as a gratuity. I cannot but suspect, therefore, that the misfortunes and anarchy of Oude are somewhat overrated;—though it is certain, that so fine a land will take a long time in ruining, and that very many years of oppression will be required to depopulate a country which produces on the same soil, and with no aid but irrigation, crops of wheat and pulse every year....It ought to be borne in mind, that the oppression and anarchy to which Oude is a prey, are chiefly felt and witnessed in the villages. In the towns, the King's authority passes unquestioned; and I have not heard that the *dustoory* levied is either irregular or excessive." *

Although an incompetent and feeble sovereign, Shah Zamin was, for an Oriental, a learned and

* Heber, vol. ii. pp. 84—90. To the inquiry whether the people, thus oppressed, desired to be placed under the British Government, it was replied by a Mussulman soldier: "Miserable as we are, of all miseries keep us from that." When asked for his reason, he answered, that the name of Oude and the honour of his nation would then be at an end. "A Hindoo ryot," remarks the Author, "might have answered differently."

a liberal-minded man, very fond of literary and philosophical pursuits, and possessing a strong taste for mechanics and chemistry. Not only was he the liberal patron of European, as well as native talent, but he was ambitious of holding a place among the literati of the country. "In the *Heft Kulzum*, a voluminous compilation in the Persian language, comprising a dictionary, a grammar, and a system of prosody and rhetoric, prepared and printed by his orders and at his expense, and attributed to his own industry, he has left at least a permanent and honourable record of his reign. The work has attracted the attention of several eminent orientalists in Europe, as Von Hammer and De Sacy; and has thus familiarized the name of Shah Zemin in countries far beyond the limits of his dominion; a distinction to which his mere possession of the sceptre of Oude would scarcely have entitled him." * Like our own James I., with whom Bishop Heber compares him, he is said to have been naturally just and kind, popular with all who had access to him, and guiltless of any personal act of violence or oppression. The disorders of his reign were attributable to a want of economy in his expenses, and a blind and misplaced confidence in his servants. He was only fifty-eight years old at his demise, which took place October 20, 1827, in consequence of a fever which exhausted the vital principle. He is succeeded by his son, Solyman Jah Nuzzeer-ud-deen-Hyder. The family, both in the paternal and the mater-

* Calcutta Gov. Gaz. October 29. When Bishop Heber was at Lucknow in 1824, his Majesty "was full of a new scheme of authorship or editorship,—a Hindoostanee and Arabic Dictionary, which, he was pleased to find, was likely to be well received at the college of Fort William." The Bishop presented the King with an Arabic Bible and the Common Prayer-book in Hindoostanee, bound in velvet.

nal lines, is of Persian origin. The Court of Lucknow, "the most polished and splendid now in India," may be considered, since the decay of Delhi, as almost the last remains of Mussulman magnificence.

OUDE.

OUDE is celebrated in Hindoo histories as the kingdom of Dasaratha, the father of the great Rama, the conqueror of Ceylon. The remains of the ancient city of *Ayodhya* (Oude) are still to be seen; but they exhibit little more than a shapeless heap of ruins. Oude is described by Abulfazel as one of the largest cities in Hindostan. "In ancient times," he adds, "it is said to have measured 148 *coss* in length, and 36 in breadth. It is esteemed one of the most sacred places of antiquity. Upon sifting the earth which is round about the city, small grains of gold are sometimes obtained from it. At the distance of a *coss* from the city, the river Gograh unites with the Sy, which confluence runs at the foot of the fort. Near this city, are two sepulchral monuments, one seven, and the other six cubits in length. The vulgar pretend, that they are the tombs of Seth and Job, and they relate wonderful stories of them." * The modern town extends a considerable way along the banks of the Goggrah, adjoining the new city of Fyzabad, which, during the government of Sujah-ud-Dowlah, was the seat of the Court. Its appearance, in 1770, is thus described by Tieffenthaler: "Avad, called Adjudea by the learned Hindoos, is a city of the highest antiquity. Its houses are, for the most part,

* Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 36. The tradition must have been confined to the Mohammedan vulgar. As the supposed sepulchres must have been of higher antiquity than the Mohammedan conquest, their origin deserves to be investigated.

only of mud, covered with straw or with tiles; many, however, are of brick. The principal street, running from S. to N., is about a league (*mille*) in length; and the breadth of the city is somewhat less. Its western part, as well as the northern, is situated on a hill; the north-eastern quarter rests upon eminences; but, towards Bangla, it is level. This town has now but a scanty population, since the foundation of Bangla or Fesabad; a new town where the Governor has established his residence, and to which a great number of the inhabitants of Oude have removed. On the southern bank of the Deva (or Goggrah), are found various buildings erected by the Gentoos in memory of Ram, extending from east to west. The most remarkable place is that which is called *Sorgodoari*, that is to say, the heavenly temple; because they say, that Ram carried away from thence to heaven all the inhabitants of the city. The deserted town was repeopled and restored to its former condition by Bikarmajit, the famous king of Oojein. There was a temple here on the high bank of the river; but Aurungzebe, ever attentive to the propagation of the faith of Mohammed, and holding the heathen in abhorrence, caused it to be demolished, and replaced it with a mosque with minarets, in order to abolish the very memory of the Hindoo superstition. Another mosque has been built by the Moors, to the east of this. Near the *Sorgodoari* is an edifice erected by Nabalroy, a former Hindoo governor. But a place more particularly famous is that which is called *Sitha Rassoce*, the table of Sitha (Seeta), wife of Ram; situated on an eminence to the south of the city. The emperor Aurungzebe demolished the fortress called Ramcote, and erected on the site, a Mohammedan temple with a triple dome. According to others, it was erected by

Baber. There are to be seen fourteen columns of black stone, five spans in height, which occupied the site of the fortress. Twelve of these columns now support the interior arcades of the mosque: the two others form part of the tomb of a certain Moor. They tell us, that these columns, or rather these remains of skilfully wrought columns, were brought from the Isle of Lanca or Selendip (Ceylon) by Hanuman, king of the monkeys. On the left is seen a square chest, raised five inches from the ground, covered with lime, about five ells in length by not more than four in breadth. The Hindoos call it *Bedi*, the cradle; and the reason is, that there formerly stood here the house in which Beshan (Vishnoo) was born in the form of Ram, and where also, they say, his three brothers were born. Afterwards, Aurungzebe, or, according to others, Baber, caused the place to be destroyed, in order to deprive the heathen of the opportunity of practising there their superstitions. Nevertheless, they still pay a superstitious reverence to both these places; namely, to that on which the natal dwelling of Ram stood, by going three times round it, prostrate on the earth. The two places are surrounded with a low wall adorned with battlements. Not far from this is a place where they dig up grains of black rice changed into little stones, which are affirmed to have been hidden underground ever since the time of Ram. On the 24th of the month *Tshet* (Choitru), a large concourse of people celebrate here the birth-day of Ram, so famous throughout India. This vast city is only a mile distant from Bangla (Fyzabad) towards the E.N.E. On the high bank of the river is a quadrangular fortress with low round towers. The walls are out of repair, and it is unfurnished with inhabitants. Formerly, the governors

of the province resided here. Saadut Khan, frightened by an evil augury, transferred the government to Bangla.* It is now completely destroyed.

"From the place where the guns are planted to Oude, a distance of two miles, the Goggrah flows in an easterly direction, making a double elbow; one near the western part of the city, the other at a short distance westward: turning then towards the N.E. by E., it washes the city of Oude; after which it returns to an easterly course, near the northern part. But it changes its course almost every year. Its channel is equal in breadth to that of the Danube, near the citadel of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, but the volume of its waters is not so great. During the rainy season, it extends to a great width, so that, in some places, it is above a league and a half across.†

"Bangla or Fesabad was founded by Saadut Khan, after he had abandoned the city of Oude. A Persian by origin, he was for more than forty years governor of this province.‡ He built a palace, planted an excellent garden in the Persian taste, and fixed his residence here. By degrees, this place became a large town. The present governor, his grandson, (Sujah-ud-Dowlah,) adorned it with numerous buildings,

* Bangla seems to have been originally a suburb of Oude: its name was probably derived from its low situation. Fyzabad (*i.e.* beautiful residence) was the name of the *soubahdar's* palace, which has become the designation of the town.

† In Bernoulli, "*un mille et demi;*" but here, as elsewhere, it is supposed that the German mile is meant. In some places, however, the distance comes nearer to a *coss*.

‡ Saadut Khan was made soubahdar of Oude by Mahomed Shah, with the title of *Buhran-ul-Mulk*, about 1730. He died soon after Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739, and was succeeded by his nephew and son-in-law, Sefder Jung, who was nominated vizier by Ahmed Shah. Sujah-ud-Dowlah was his son and successor. See pp. 347—356 of our first volume.

after the English had restored it to him in 1765, with the whole province. He also enlarged the market-place, which was before confined, and strengthened the fortress with a fosse, round towers, and a rampart."*

The remains of this fortress and the palace are yet to be seen; and Fyzabad still contains a numerous population, chiefly, however, of the lower classes. The merchants, bankers, and richer inhabitants migrated to Lucknow, when the court of Asof-ud-Dowlah was transferred to that capital in 1775. It stands in lat. 26° 46′ N., long. 82° 4′ E., seventy-eight miles east from Lucknow.†

Between three and four miles from Fyzabad, on the southern bank of the Goggrah, there is a remarkable place planted with bushy trees, of which Tieffenthaler gives the following account:—"It is seated upon a hill somewhat steep, and fortified with little towers of earth at the four corners (of the enclosure). In the middle is seen a subterranean hole, covered with a dome of moderate dimensions. Close by is a lofty and very old tamarind-tree. A piazza runs round it. It is said that Ram, after having vanquished the giant Ravan, and returned from Lanka, descended into this pit, and there disappeared: hence, they have given to this place the name of *Gouptar* (or *Gouptarguth*). You have here, then, a descent into hell, as you had at Oude an ascension to heaven."‡ As the scene of many of the leading events in the great epic poem

* Bernoulli, tom. i. pp. 252—255. See p. 88 of our second vol.

† Hamilton, vol. i. p. 550. In Bernoulli, the latitude, as observed in 1767, is stated to be 26° 29′. In recent times, Fyzabad has been remarkable chiefly as the residence of the Begums. See pp. 100, 230, of our second volume.

‡ Bernoulli, vol. i. p. 255. According to the Ramayuna, Rama's descent to Padalon was involuntary, during his war with the giants in Ceylon; and he was carried thither by enchantment.

of the Ramayuna, Oude might be expected to abound with spots of traditional sanctity.

The *soubah* of Oude wås, under the Mohammedan empire, subdivided into the five *circars* of Oude, Lucknow, Khyzabad, Baraitch, and Goorukpoor; being bounded, northward by the hills and forests of Nepaul, eastward by Bahar, southward by Allahabad, and westward by Delhi and Agra. Its length is estimated at 250 miles, by an average breadth of 100. The whole surface is a plain well watered by large rivers and copious smaller streams, flowing nearly all in a south-easterly direction. Of these, the Goggrah and the Goomty are the principal. The dominions of the sovereign of Oude were, however, in 1790, much more extensive, comprehending the principal portion of the Doab to within 40 miles of Delhi. The greater part of this territory, together with the circar of Goorukpoor and some other districts, has been ceded to the Company. The "reserved territories of Oude occupy about 21,000 square miles, with a population of at least three millions.*"

About 75 miles W. of Lucknow, in the Etaweh district of the Doab, are the obscure remains of the very ancient and celebrated city of

He at last drowned himself. See Ward's Hindoos, vol. i. pp. 211—219. The votaries of Rama form a distinct class of mendicants, called Ramahoots, who impress on different parts of their body, Rama's name and the figure of his foot. His brother Lakshman shares in his divine honours.

* Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 338, 346. The land is cultivated with wheat, barley, rice, sugar-cane, indigo, and poppies. The soil also yields nitre and lapis lazuli. The rice, Abulfazel says, is excellent, and some of it incomparable. "They sow it three months earlier than in any other part of Hindoostan. By the time the rice is in ear, the rivers Sy and Gograh begin to overflow their banks,".

KANOUJE.

LORD VALENTIA, on his departure from Lucknow, proceeded to visit the ruins of this city. He was attended by an escort of 120 sepoys and followers, with 39 bearers, and other servants and officers, amounting altogether to 287 persons; from which, he says, his readers may form an idea of the mode of journeying in that country. His first stage was "about five *coss* or ten miles, to Futteh-gunge, a walled town tolerably populous." The country through which the route lay, was perfectly flat and sandy, and he passed through only a few wretched, half-deserted villages: one of these bears the name of Vizier-gunge. The second stage, six *coss* and a half (three hours) further, was to Hossein-gunge. The country continued flat, sandy, and ill-cultivated, and the villages were small and wretched, till he passed Mohaun, which had the appearance of having been a place of more consequence, and there is a stone bridge over the *nullah*. The name of the third station is not mentioned. On the fourth day, he advanced to Meah-gunge, a town built by Almas Ali Khan, the wealthy aga of the Bhow Begum (mother of Saadut Ali), and the chief town of the extensive district of which he was *aumeel.** It is twenty-three miles S.W. from Lucknow. "The outer wall of the town is of mud, and incloses several large mango-*topes* and spots of cultivated ground. The inner wall is of brick, not very high, with towers of the same. The

* "When the Vizier visited Almas at Meah-gunge, he received a *nazur* of a lac of rupees, piled up as a seat for him to sit on. His Excellency took care to carry away the seat with him."—Valentia, vol. i. p. 142. See, for an account of Almas, *Ib.* 141, and Tennant, vol. ii. pp. 364—6. His original name was Meea.

gates are strong and handsome; the streets, wide and lined with trees." It seemed populous, and its thriving condition formed a complete contrast to the wretched villages previously passed through. It contained three convenient serais, and a park of artillery in excellent order. The vicinity was well cultivated. Since the death of Almas, however, the prosperity of the place has shared in the general decay. "Trees, towers, gates, and palaces," says Bishop Heber, "are fast sinking into rubbish and forgetfulness.......The fort is now filled with the bazar of a poor village, erected under the shade of the mango-trees. The park was laid down, when I saw it, in quillets of beautiful green wheat and barley."

About a mile from Meah-gunge is the ruined town of Assewan, more pleasantly situated, on a slight elevation overlooking a small lake; but, when Lord Valentia travelled, it had been deserted for the new town. The country became more pleasing, slightly undulated, and better cultivated, on approaching Bangernow. Every town that was passed, was built of brick, and the ruins were far more extensive than the habitable part.* Bangernow is prettily situated on a small rise, surrounded with mango-*topes*, and with a *nullah* running close to it. It has the appearance of having been a more considerable place. It is forty-four miles W. from Lucknow. About ten miles further, the noble Traveller came to a *nullah* communicating with the Ganges, opposite the village of Manarow. Here he embarked, and was towed for about three miles into the main river, there about a mile wide and extremely rapid.

* "Numbers quitted these provinces to become cultivators in ours, and many others have constantly entered our armies. The recruiting is so extremely difficult in Bengal and Bahar, that our armies could not be kept up, were it not for the supplies obtained from the Vizier's dominions."—Valentia.

The remaining twenty miles from the *ghaut* above Manarow to Meeraun-ka-serai, lay through a country pleasingly varied with mango-*topes* and cultivation. The villages were more numerous, but Lord Valentia saw no town till he arrived at the last-mentioned place, which takes its name from a fine serai: on the opposite side of the road is the tomb of the founder. Here his Lordship encamped, and, the next day, proceeded to explore what remains of Kanouje, of which he gives the following brief description.

"Kanouje has at present but a single street, and that of no great appearance. The Ganges is distant about two miles; but a canal has been cut, which makes a bend toward the town, and brings the holy water close to the citadel. Six miles off, the mixture of small pieces of brick, and, occasionally, the vestiges of a building, proved to me that I had entered on the site of this ancient capital of Hindostan. Our first visit was to the tombs of two Mussulmaun saints, who lie in state under two mausoleums of equal size and handsome architecture, on an elevation covered with trees. From the terrace which surrounds them, I had a very pleasing view of the plain, covered with ruined temples and tombs, the *nullah* winding through, till it joins the Ganges two miles lower down. Tamarind-trees and mango-*topes* were scattered every where; and the whitened tomb of an English officer who was drowned here, raised its pointed head amid this scene of desolation. We next visited another tomb on the most lofty point. It consists of a quadrangle and mosque, similar, in miniature, to the one at Juanpore. Several pillars in the mosque are formed of two pieces, taken from a more ancient building: the rude base of one, being placed uppermost, serves for a capital. A great many little images were lying under the trees, but they were too much broken to be interesting. In

the centre was a well, now filled up, where large sums of money are said to be secreted. The citadel has nothing to repay the fatigue of the ascent to it. No building of any consequence remains; and the brick walls, which do not appear to be of great antiquity, are going rapidly to decay. A few coins are found among the ruins; they are small and irregularly shaped, with Sanscrit characters, and have, occasionally, a figure of a Hindoo deity on one side."*

Tennant speaks of the ruins of Kanouje as "the most extensive, perhaps, in the world. For many miles," he says, "before you enter the present town, you travel through jungles interspersed with small fields of tobacco, that consist of brick-dust and mortar. To remove all doubt that the rubbish consists of the remains of a town, walls and broken gateways here and there raise their heads in defiance of time. The greater part of the standing buildings are ruinous, uninhabited, rent, and tottering to decay. The few people now in the place accommodate themselves under mud huts, buttressed up against the old walls. Not a great many buildings are entire; whole mountains of unshapely ruins meet your eye in every direction, upon a space of ground much larger than the site of London. Amid these heaps of desolation, there are spots here and there under tobacco. The ruins of such buildings are with great difficulty converted into arable land; for brick-dust does not assimilate with the soil till after many centuries. The brick in this country seems of an inferior kind.....One species of brick in use for the principal buildings of Kanouje, is very rare; of a large size and half vitrified. The

* Valentia, vol. i., pp. 147, 8. Daniell has given a view of Cannoge in his picturesque Views in Hindoostan, but it presents no objects of interest.

colour of this sort is slate blue : it is more coarse than the common, but has proved far more durable."*

At about a mile from the castle, (which stands on the western bank of the Calini, or Kali-nuddee,) at the northern extremity of the town, Tieffenthaler says, "there is a place called *Sheeta Rassoï*, where Sheeta (or Seeta) the wife of Ram, is said to have dwelt. They relate, that a palace stood there, built of red stone, in the middle of which was a well, which the Mussulmans have filled up, and closed the mouth with lime, erecting on the site a mosque with three cupolas, and surrounded with stone walls: They worship here the image of Ajje-pâl, prince of Kanouje, who was very kind to his subjects, and kept goats."† It is possible, that the wife of Rama may have been born at Kanouje. The interior of the mosque deserves examination, as it may possibly conceal some traces of antiquity.

Kanouje (*Kanyacubja*) was, at an early period of the Christian era, the capital of the principal kingdom along the Ganges.‡ It is situated near where the Calini river (or Kali-nuddee) joins it ; "and is, possibly," says Major Rennell, "the place meant by Pliny for *Calinipaxa*. It is said to have been built more than one thousand years before our era, and is mentioned by Ferishta as the capital of all Hindoostan, under the predecessor of Phoor or Porus, who fought against Alexander. The Indian histories are full of the accounts of its grandeur and populousness. In the

* Tennant, vol. ii. p. 369.

† "*Faisoit paître les chèvres.*"—Bernoulli, vol. i. p. 195. This is mentioned as a trait of the Arcadian simplicity of the age in which he reigned. The well is evidently the same that is referred to by Lord Valentia.

‡ Comprehending Delhi, Agra, Oude, and Serinagur. The ancient language of the Kanyacubjas is supposed to have been the Hindee. See p. 103 of our first volume.

sixth century, it was said to contain 30,000 shops in which betel was sold. In 1018, it was seized on by the Gaznian emperors; at which time it gave its name to the kingdom of which it was the capital."* The city has taken its name, which signifies in Sanscrit, crooked damsel, from the daughter of one of its rajahs, and refers to a well-known Hindoo legend.† Kanouje gave its name to a *circar* under the Mogul emperors; but it does not appear to have retained any importance long after the conquest, Etaweh‡ having become the chief town of the district. The completion of its misfortunes was, in 1761, when it was sacked by the Mahrattas. Its ruins and jungle are now a retreat for robbers and criminals of every description. Kanouje stands in lat. 27° 4′ N., long 79° 47′ E.; 217 miles from Agra, 214 from Delhi, and 719 from Calcutta.

From Kanouje, Lord Valentia proceeded to Furrukabad, the capital of the adjacent district, and the mercantile emporium of this part of the Doab. It stands at a short distance from the western shore of the Ganges, in lat. 27° 24′ N., long. 79° 27′ E., and is only four miles from the frontier of the Oude territory. This town, which, when his Lordship travelled, was only ninety years old, was built by the Patans. He describes it as a very pretty town, the principal streets being wide, and the houses and open spaces being

* Rennell, p. 54. See pp. 169—190 of our first volume.

† Tieffenthaler says, that this city, according to tradition, has had four different names. In the first age, it was called *Capelastal*, after the Rajah Capel; in the second age, *Gadpoor*, after the Rajah Gad; in the third, *Mohodpoor*, or, according to others, *Mangatpoor*, after Mohod or Mangat; in the fourth, *Canuca-coboz*. Bernoulli, vol. i. p. 193.

‡ Etaweh, which has itself ceased to be the capital, stands on the eastern bank of the Jumna, seventy miles S. E. of Agra. The present capital is Minpooree, a walled town of considerable size, on the Issa, about sixty-two miles E. of Agra.

delightfully shaded with trees. The vicinity of the British cantonments at Futtehghur (only three miles distant), has rendered this a flourishing place. It contained, in 1811, upwards of 13,300 houses, besides 1650 shops; and the resident population could not be less than 67,000. Like most frontier towns, it has the reputation of being the resort of the needy and dissolute from all parts of the country. It was at this place, that, in 1805, Lord Lake surprised and routed Holkar's cavalry.* A British court of judicature and revenue has been established here, subordinate to the circuit court of Bareilly.†

We now again rejoin Bishop Heber in his progress northward through the upper provinces.

FROM LUCKNOW TO ALMORAH.

THE shortest road from Lucknow to Bareilly runs N. W. to Shahabad; but, this being reported unsafe, and the supplies precarious, the Bishop was compelled to take a route which it was found necessary to divide into fourteen stages. His first station was Hussun-gunge, twenty miles from Lucknow; the next day, he proceeded five *coss* to Meea-gunge; the third, to Seetalgunge; the fourth, to a large town called Mallaon; and on the fifth, a stage of seven *coss* through the same level and fruitful country, brought him to Belgaram. This is a town of some antiquity,‡ and

* See vol. ii. p. 273.

† This was the extreme point of Lord Valentia's travels in this direction. The aspect of Mahratta politics had compelled Lord Lake about that time to take the field, and the state of the provinces precluded the noble Traveller's venturing further.

‡ "Belgram is a little town, very healthy, and famous for producing men with lively imaginations and melodious voices. Here is a well, of which whosoever drinks for forty days' continuance, it

bears marks of having been more considerable, containing some large and good old Mussulman houses of brick. It is still distinguished by a ruinous fort with a moat. The present inhabitants, few in number, dwell in small structures of mud or timber. Here, after a long interval, a good many scattered palms are seen, both of the date and the toddy species; and there is a noble show of mango-trees. Bishop Heber noticed also a neat garden of turnips and potatoes;* and what he saw of the country in this part, disposed him to give credit to the panegyric passed by the *goomashta* on the soil of Oude as one of the finest in the world. Every thing flourished here, it was said, which grows in either Bengal or Persia; "they had at once rice, sugar, cotton, and palm-trees, as well as wheat, maize, barley, beans, and oats; the air was good, the water good, and the grass particularly nourishing to cattle; but the laws are not good, the judges are wicked, the *zemindars* are worse, the *aumeens* worst of all, and the *ryuts* are robbed of every thing."

About five *coss* further, is Sandee, "a poor little village, shaded by some fine trees, near a large jeel, swarming with wild fowl." The road from Belgram lies through an undulating country, varied with cornfields, brushwood, and jungle, scattered groves, and extensive lakes. From this place to the Company's frontier, the district bears a very bad character for the predatory and lawless habits of the inhabitants, and a strong guard is necessary to the traveller's safety. The country improves in beauty, but is less cultivated and populous. At ten *coss* is a large village named Suro-

enlivens his understanding, and brightens his eye-sight." Ayeen Akbery, vol. ii. p. 38.

* These last, the Bishop was told, were at first exceedingly disliked by the people, but were now becoming great favourites, particularly with the Mussulmans.

munuggur, with an old fortress, resembling a large *serai*, surrounded with a high brick wall, having round towers at the flanks, and two Gothic gateways. A pretty trout-stream, called the Goomty, winds under the walls, through a beautiful carpet of corn-land, interspersed with trees. The next stage was five *coss* and a half to Oudunpoor. The road lies through Shahabad, a considerable town, with the remains of fortifications and many large houses. Oudunpoor "is what would be called a moderate-sized market town in England. It has a fine grove of mango-trees adjoining, covering six or eight acres, with a little shrine of Siva in the middle. The neighbourhood is chiefly cultivated with cotton." This is the last town in the King of Oude's dominions, and the Bishop here parted with his Majesty's people, who had attended him thus far. The frontier is only an ideal line. The next stage is seven *coss* through the same cultivated country, to Shahjehanpoor, "a large place, with some stately old mosques and a castle," situated on the river Gurruk, a quiet, winding stream. It stands in lat. 27° 52′, long. 79° 48′; distance from Lucknow, ninety-five miles.

The traveller has now entered the Rohilla country, the conquest of which by the British, in 1774, and its impolitic and cruel cession to the Nabob of Oude, form, as Bishop Heber justly remarks, one of the worst chapters of the history of British India.* After it fell into the hands of Sujah-ud-Dowla, it rapidly declined in prosperity; and some parts, owing to the misgovernment and oppression under which they suffered, became almost a waste; † but it is now gradually

* See page 96 of our second volume.

† See Tennant, vol. ii. p. 380. "This fine country," says the Author, "within the last twenty years, has become a vast desert .. Not the hundredth acre is in cultivation."

recovering. The soil and climate, Bishop Heber says, are very fine: the former produces every thing which is grown in Oude, and the commodities are reckoned better, because more pains are bestowed on the cultivation. The sugar, rice, and cotton, are the most high-priced in India; the toddy and date palms and plantains are common; while the walnut, the apple, the pear, strawberries, and grapes likewise thrive here. The natives have an idea, that the shade of the tamarind-tree is unwholesome to man and beast.

From Shahjehanpoor, the first stage was seven *coss*, through a level and extremely well cultivated country, to Camaun, called by the English Tillhier. A large but ruinous *serai*, and an old fort, also in ruins, with some noble old banyans, give a respectable appearance to the town. The next stage, seven *coss*, is to Futtehgunge; the road lying over a level, open, and comparatively naked country, with little cultivation and few villages. Futtehgunge is a poor village, enclosed within a ruined mud wall, with two handsome gateways of brick. It received its pompous name (Mart of Victory) in commemoration of the battle in which the brave Hafez Rhamet Khan was slain, which was fought between this place and Cutterah, a large and ruinous village a little to the southward. The next stage of seven *coss*, to Furreedpoor, is through a country better cultivated, and with more wood, but still "as flat as a carpet." Eight short *coss* more (not much exceeding twelve miles) lead to Bareilly.

This district capital, described by Bishop Heber as a poor, ruinous town, stands on the banks of the united streams of the Jooah and the Lunkra, about forty-two miles N. W. of the Ganges, in lat. 28° 23′ N., long. 79° 16′ E. It was the capital of Hafez Rhamet, who lies buried here. The former capital of Rohilcund

was Owlah, sixteen miles to the N.W., where are to be seen the ruins of the palaces, mosques, and gardens of Ali Mohammed, the founder of this short-lived Patan principality. The population of Bareilly is considerable, amounting, it is supposed, to between sixty and seventy thousand persons. The principal manufacture is that of brazen water-pots, which are made here in great numbers.* From the resident magistrate, Mr. Hawkins, the Bishop received an account of the Rohillas, not very favourable. "They are a clever and animated race, but devoid of principle, false, and ferocious. Crimes are very numerous, both of fraud and violence, and perjury almost universal. When he first came here, the English were very much disliked; and very few would so much as *salam* to either general or magistrate. At present, they are brought into better order; but the country is burdened with a crowd of lazy, profligate, self-called *suwarrs*, who, though many of them are not worth a rupee, conceive it derogatory to their gentility and Patan blood, to apply themselves to any honest industry: they obtain for the most part a precarious livelihood, by sponging on the industrious tradesmen and farmers, on whom they levy a sort of

* During the week preceding, the Bishop had almost every day fallen in with large parties of pilgrims, going to, or returning from, the Ganges, as well as numbers of men bringing the holy water from Hurdwar. "The greater proportion of the pilgrims are women, who sing in a very pleasing, cheerful manner, in passing near a village or any large assemblage of people. Once, as they passed my tents, their slender figures, long white garments, water-pots, and minstrelsy, combined with the noble laurel-like shade of the mango-trees, reminded me forcibly of the scene so well represented in Milman's Martyr of Antioch, where the damsels are going to the wood in the cool of the day, singing their hymns to Apollo. The male pilgrims, and those who carry water, call out in a deep tone, *Mahadeo Bôl! Bol! Bol!* in which I observed my Hindoo servants and bearers never failed to join them."—Heber, vol. ii. p. 132.

black-mail, or as hangers-on to the few noble and wealthy families yet remaining in the province. Of these men, who have no visible means of maintenance and no visible occupation, except that of lounging up and down with their swords and shields, like the ancient Highlanders, (whom in many respects they much resemble,) the number is rated at not fewer (in all Rohilcund) than 100,000 men." * It was of this description of military mercenaries, one degree better than Pindarries, that the forces of Ameer Khan consisted. The Bishop suggests as a natural remedy for this state of things, the forming part of this superfluous and idle population into fencible regiments, "on something like the footing of our yeomanry corps." These warlike Patans, however, though faithful to those whose salt they eat, do not readily submit to the strictness of European discipline; and they would be disaffected to any government which left them no scope or employment for their favourite occupation. The consequence is, that the discontents of these Mussulman knights are continually breaking out into acts of insubordination and violence, which are little known in the other provinces of British India, but which are favoured by the neighbourhood of Oude, and by the existence of a large forest along the whole eastern, southern, and northern frontiers. †

The Rohillas are a tall, handsome race, and, when compared with the southern Hindoos, of fair complexion. They are in fact of Afghan or Patan

* Heber, vol. ii. pp. 138, 9.

† "The Rohilla insurgents are very faithful to each other; and as, in Oude, there is neither police nor pursuit, it very seldom happens, if they once escape, that they can be laid hold of afterwards."—Heber,

descent, * and Mohammedans in creed. Few Hindoo temples, of any magnitude, are found in the district, while the mosques are by far the most splendid buildings in every town. Although no correct *census* of the population has been taken, it is supposed that the two sects approach nearer to an equality in Rohilcund, in point of numbers, than in any other part of Hindostan. At present, this extensive province is subdivided into the separate jurisdictions of Bareilly, Shahjehanpoor, and Moradabad. The latter district, comprising the western portion of the Rohilla country, was supposed to contain, in 1803, according to a rough estimate, about 1,421,000 inhabitants. † The total population may, therefore, be set down, with some probability, at three millions.

From Bareilly, after some hesitation as to the safety and expediency of the journey, the Bishop resolved to proceed to Almorah, the chief town in the province of Kumaoon ; a station which had never before been visited by any Protestant clergyman. His immediate object was, to ascertain what facilities existed for obtaining for the population the occasional visits, at least, of a minister of religion, and for eventually spreading the Gospel among the mountaineers, and beyond them into Thibet and Tartary. The journey was an arduous enterprise. The whole skirt and margin of the mountains are surrounded with a thick forest nearly two days' journey in breadth, covering a marshy soil, and sending forth, during two-thirds of the year, " exhalations more pestilential than the Sunderbunds or the grotto *Dei Cani* ;—a literal ' belt

* They migrated from Caubul about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The ancient name of the territory, in Sanscrit, is *Kuttair*.

† Hamilton, vol. i. p. 442.

of death,' which even the natives (then) tremble to approach," and which, from April to October, the monkeys themselves, as well as the tigers, the antelopes, the wild hogs, and the very birds are said to abandon.* After [illegible] middle of November, however, (the period at wh[illegible] Bishop had reached Bareilly,) this tract is dry, practicable, and safe.

On the 18th of November, his Lordship left Bareilly for the village of Shahee, a distance of about sixteen miles. Near that place, he obtained a first view of the range of snowy mountains, indistinctly seen through a haze. The nearer hills were blue, resembling, in outline and tints, those which close in the vale of Clwyd. Above these rose what might, seen through such a medium, have been taken for clouds, had not their seat been so stationary, and their outline so harsh and pyramidal." They appeared white and glistening as alabaster, and even at that distance (of, perhaps, 150 miles), towered above the nearer and secondary range as much as these, though between 7000 and 8000 feet high, rose above the plains of Hindostan. The spectacle excited mingled delight and awe, but the pleasure lasted not many minutes: "the clouds closed in again, (as on the fairy castle of St. John,) and left but the former grey cold horizon, girding in the green plain of Rohilcund, and broken only by scattered tufts of peepul and mango-trees." Of the four snowy peaks which are here visible, Bhadrinauth is the highest, but not, from this point of view, the most conspicuous.

From Shahee, the Bishop went seven *coss* to Sheeshghur, a poor village on a small elevation, with a ruinous fort on the summit, commanding an extensive

* Heber, vol. ii. pp. 143, 157. See page 309 of our second vol.

view of the great surrounding flat and the blue hills behind it. The next stage was about eight *coss* to Kulleanpoor, "a very wretched place," within the marshy and unwholesome precincts of the forest region.* The villages passed in [illegible] day's route, were all singularly wretched, and the inhabitants appeared a very ugly and miserable race, with large heads, prominent ears, flat noses, tumid bodies, slender limbs, and sallow complexions; a blanket of black wool was almost their only covering. "The only satisfaction to be derived from a journey through such a country, is to look steadily at the mountains beyond it, which increase, as we advance, in apparent magnitude and beauty. The snowy peaks, indeed, are less and less distinguishable, but the nearer range rises into dignity and grandeur, and is now clearly to be seen divided into several successive ridges, with all the wildest and most romantic forms of ravine, forest, crag, and precipice.......At the foot of the lowest hills, a long, black, level line extends, so black and level that it might seem to have been drawn with ink and a ruler. This is the forest, from which we are still removed several *coss*, though the country already begins to partake of its insalubrity."

* "The natives have a singular notion, that it is not the air, but the water of these countries, which produces *owl*" (malaria). "The thannadar who came to pay his compliments (at Kulleanpoor), was yellow as gold, with his nails as blue as if he had been poisoned, and shaking pitifully in the cold fit of the country fever. Here, as in other aguish countries, the disease often kills very slowly; and many persons have a regular attack every May, which leaves them wretchedly weak in November, and from the effects of which they have just time to recover before the fatal month comes round again. With others, it is far less ceremonious, and assumes, from the beginning, a typhus form, which seldom leaves the patient many days in suspense." The fever resembles, in most of its symptoms, that of Walcheren and the Sunderbunds. Gentian is found a valuable medicine.

Beyond Kulleanpoor, the country had a very dismal aspect, presenting every where the marks of having been under cultivation at no distant period, but now almost entirely overgrown with a rank vegetation, consisting of a d[illegible] poisonous-looking plant, something like nightshade, and tall jungle-grass, often considerably higher than the head of a man on horseback. On emerging to somewhat higher and drier ground, the narrow and boggy path wound through the "vile underwood," beneath the wild and dismal shade of some immense peepul-trees, to some ill-cultivated rice-fields; beyond which, rising from amid a magnificent range of mango-*topes*, are seen the tombs and temples of Ruderpoor. This is described as a very striking and even beautiful spot; the soil evidently of an exuberant richness. The grass far overtopped the miserable houses; the few slovenly fields of wheat and maize were uncommonly strong and luxuriant; the plantains in the gardens were the tallest and finest that the Bishop had ever seen; and the castor-oil plant, the prickly pear, and the aloe formed thickets of impenetrable solidity. A bright and rippling stream runs round the village. Here, however, were seen all the usual marks of a diminished and sickly population. The tombs and temples were all ruins; and the few inhabitants sat huddled together at the doors of their wretched huts, wrapped in their black blankets, and cowering round little fires, with pale faces and emaciated limbs. Yet, not more than twenty years ago, Ruderpoor, "where now the Company's soldiers and servants die off so fast, that they can scarcely keep up the establishment," is said to have been a large and wealthy place, inhabited throughout the year without danger.* And even Tandah, a

* Rooderpoor is described by Tieffenthaler as a small town well

station some miles further on, was the favourite and safe resort of sportsmen from Bareilly and Moradabad. "The forest was, in fact, under a gradual process of reclaimer; the cowmen and woodmen were pushing their incursions further every year; and the plain, though always liable to fever and ague, was as populous and habitable as many other parts of India where no complaints are heard. The unfavourable change is imputed by the natives to depopulation; and," adds the Bishop, "they are, no doubt, philosophically right, since there seems to be a preservative in the habitation, cultivation, nay, perhaps, in the fires, the breath, and the society of men, which neutralizes *malaria*, even in the countries naturally most exposed to it.* The depopulation of these countries arose from the invasion of Meer Khan in 1805. He then laid waste all these *pergunnahs;* and the population, once so checked, has never recovered itself. The inhabitants of the more wholesome districts have fewer motives, than formerly, to flee from their homes to these marshes; while the inhabitants of the marshes have themselves less powerful reasons for clinging to their uncomfortable birth-place, and the tide of emigration is turned in a contrary direction."

About six miles from Ruderpoor, the plain becomes

peopled, with many houses of brick, and a mud citadel. Its market, he says, is much frequented by merchants and bankers. It stands on the river Bhoghel, lat. 29° 1', long. 79° 29'.

* The Bishop refers to the state of Rome and the adjacent territory as a similar instance: he was there told, that, in proportion to the number of empty houses in a street, the malaria always raged in it. The *Maremma* affords another striking illustration. The depopulation which followed the fall of the Italian republics, has converted plains in the midst of which once stood populous cities, into deserts abandoned to wolves and wild boars.—See Sismondi, *Agriculture Toscane*, p. 289. In the Morea, the same physical revolution has resulted from similar causes.

wilder and more forest-like. The branches and trunks of the scattered, scraggy trees, bore the marks of the yearly conflagration with which the cowmen prepare the pasture for their cattle, and which contributes not a little to make the forest healthy. When the young grass has sprung up, and the scorched trees have recovered their leaves, many beautiful glades open on both sides, and the ride is both picturesque and pleasant. "As it was," adds the Bishop, "I saw nothing appalling or menacing in this valley of death. The grass was high, and the jungle so thick that it was sometimes with difficulty that, even on the raised causeway, we could force our way through it; but there was nothing of that dark, dank, deadly-looking vegetation which we had seen at Ruderpoor; and the majestic trees which from time to time towered over the underwood, the songs of the birds. and the noble hills to which we were approaching, made me think I had passed very many days in India more unpleasantly."

Tandah is the only place where water is to be found, till travellers are close on Bamoury. This latter place is situated in a delightful valley between wooded mountains, through which a considerable river dashes with great noise and violence over a rocky bottom. Some miserable *pucka* sheds point out the Company's warehouses and police-establishments. Here, a sentry in green uniform, and a *daroga* who could hardly speak Hindoostanee, announced to the Bishop, that he was now in a new land, within the limits of the Himalaya. The arrangements made for prosecuting his journey into the mountains, were as follows: "My bed was found not too heavy for six of the hill *coolies*; bearers from the plain being ascertained to be nearly useless. One man carried my writing-desk;

another, two chairs and the physic-chest; two had each a basket of provisions and crockery; two carried a leaf of the folding-table; six, the baggage of the sepoys; and the remainder were employed as muleteers, &c." One mule was required for the kitchen furniture; three were laden with his Lordship's "bullock-trunks and the square *petarrahs*; and three more were requisite, that the servants might ride in turn. The Bishop himself rode a stout, shaggy white poney, of the mountain breed; and, by advice of the British magistrate of the district, he took his pistols and a double-barrelled gun as a defence against the tigers. Thus equipped and attended, he set forth on his mountain journey. The steep and rugged tract, all unlike the plains of Hindostan, soon led into a beautiful and romantic country, which reminded him of Norway, but with the advantage of round-topped trees, instead of the unvaried spear-like outline of the pine. For a short distance, the vegetation did not materially differ from that of the plains. The first novelties were, some nettles of very large size, and some magnificent creepers, which hung their wild cordage, as thick as a ship's cable, and covered with broad, bright leaves, from tree to tree. After about an hour and a half's steep ascent, some dog-rose trees and a number of raspberry-bushes were seen, with, here and there, a small ever-green oak. A good many cherry-trees, of the common wild English sort, were next met with, in full blossom; on a steep declivity, were some pear-trees, with the fruit already set; and for some way he passed between thickets of raspberry and bilberry-bushes. The Bishop's companion shot two black and purple pheasants and a jungle-hen; some beautiful little white monkeys, called *gounee*, were seen gambolling on the trees; and what pleased

the Author most, he heard the notes of the English thrush. The peasantry who were seen on this and the preceding day, were natives of Kumaoon, who yearly descend, after the unwholesome season is passed, to pasture their cattle, and cultivate the best and driest spots of the forest with barley and wheat, which they reap and carry back with them before April is far advanced. They were of middle size, slender and active, very scantily dressed, and unarmed, except with large sticks. "The women," says the Bishop, "might have been good-looking, if they had been less sun-burnt and toil-worn, or if their noses and ears had not been so much enlarged by the weight of the metal rings with which they were ornamented. Their dress was a coarse cloth, wrapped round their waist, with a black blanket over the head and shoulders. All had silver bracelets, and anklets apparently of silver also; a circumstance which, to a European eye, contrasted singularly with the exceeding poverty of their general appearance. Their industry seems very great. In every part where the declivity was less steep, so as to admit a plough or a spade, we found little plots of ground, sometimes only four feet wide and ten or twelve long, in careful and neat cultivation. Some of these were ranged in little terraces one above the other, supported by walls of loose stones; and these evidences of industry and population were the more striking, because we literally did not pass a single habitation. Even at Beemthâl, besides the Company's guard-room and warehouses, only one miserable hut was visible."

Beemthâl is a very beautiful place;—"a little mountain valley, surrounded on three sides by wooded hills, and, on the fourth, by a tract of green meadow, with a fine *thâl* or lake of clear water, abounding

with trout." A small and very rude pagoda of grey stone, with a coarse slate roof, beneath some fine peepul-trees, has the appearance of a little church. The climate might favour the illusion by which the Bishop was transported in imagination to the wilder parts of Wales. Beemthâl is 3200 feet above the level of the sea, and 2700 above the plain of Rohilcund. Yet, Mount Gaughur, which closes the prospect, is 5400 feet higher; and on its summit, the traveller sees peaks of 16,000 feet towering above him still.

The next day's route from Beemthâl, lay over the neck of this mountain. After coasting the lake for about a mile, it passed, for about thirteen more, by a most steep and rugged road, through a succession of glens and forests of the most sublime and beautiful character. "My attention," says the Bishop, "was completely strained, and my eyes filled with tears; every thing around was so wild and magnificent, that man appeared as nothing; and I felt myself as if climbing the steps of the altar of God's great temple. The trees, as we advanced, were, in a large proportion, fir and cedar; but many were ilex; and, to my surprise, I still saw even in these alpine tracts, many venerable peepul-trees, on which the white monkeys were playing their gambols. After winding up a wild romantic chasm, we arrived at the gorge of the pass between the two principal summits, nearly 8,600 feet above the sea. And now the snowy mountains, which had been so long eclipsed, opened on us in full magnificence. Nundadevi was immediately opposite; Kedarnauth was not visible from our present situation; and Meru was only seen as a very distant peak. The eastern mountains, however, rose into great consequence, and were very glorious objects as we wound down the hill on the other side. On Mount Gaughur,

I found the first ice which I have come in contact with. The little streams on the northern side had all a thin crust on them; and the hoar-frost, in one or two places, made the path so slippery, that I thought it best to dismount."

Ramghur, the Bishop's halting-place, is "a very small and poor village, seated by a fine rapid stream, in a narrow winding valley, the sides of which, to a very great height, are cultivated in narrow terraces with persevering and obstinate industry; though the soil is so stony that many of the little fields resemble the deposite of a torrent, more than an arable piece of ground. The Company's warehouse and guard-house stand at a little height above the village. There was a castle here during the time of the Gorkha power, now dismantled and gone to decay. A great deal of iron ore is found in the neighbourhood, which the villagers were employed in washing from its grosser impurities, and fitting it to be transported to Almorah for smelting. The houses, people, children, and animals shewed marks of poverty. Almost all the children were naked, and the grown persons, except their black blankets, had scarcely a rag to cover them. The houses were ranged in a line, with a row of still smaller huts opposite, which seemed to be for their cattle, though, in England, they might have passed for very poor pigsties. The houses, indeed, were little better, none of them high enough to stand up in, the largest not more than ten feet square, and the door, the only aperture, a square hole of about four feet. The people were little and slender, but apparently muscular and active; their countenances intelligent and remarkably mild; and one or two of their women were not very far from pretty. This tribe of the Khasya nation are decidedly migratory, dividing their

time between the hills and the forest, according to the seasons. Even here are numerous traces of the superstition of India. We passed some rudely carved stones with symbols of Brahminical idolatry; and three miserable-looking beggars, two Brahmins and a *virajee*, came to ask alms in a strange mixture between Khasya and Hindoostanee."

The next day's route led over another ridge, by an ascent yet more rugged and steep than that over the Gaughur. On reaching the summit, a still more extensive and panoramic view of the snowy range was obtained; and the guides pointed out Meru, "the greatest of all mountains, out of which Gunga flows." "The horizon was terminated by a vast range of ice and snow, extending its battalion of white, shining spears from east to west, as far as the eye could follow it; the principal points rising like towers in the glittering rampart, but all connected by a chain of humbler glaciers." On one of the middle range of mountains, a little lower than the rest, some white buildings and a few trees appeared, with a long zig-zag road winding up the face of the hill. This was Almorah. Several toilsome ascents had yet to be surmounted, however, before the Bishop reached the foot of the hill on which stands this "very curious and interesting town," as he not without reason styles it.

Almorah, the capital of Kumaoon, consists chiefly of one long street, running along a mountain ridge from the fort westward to a smaller block-house eastward; with scattered bungalows,* inhabited for the most part

* These bungalows are small low co[illegible]s of stone, with slated roofs, built by Government for the acc[illegible]odation of any of their civil or military servants who might come to reside here for their health. They are built strong and low, on account of the frequent earthquakes to which Kumaoon is subject. "Scarcely a year passes without a shake or two."

by Europeans, to the right and left hand on the declivity. "The houses all stand on a lower story of stone, open to the street, with strong square pillars, where are the shops. Above, the buildings are of timber, exactly like those of Chester, in one, or sometimes two very low stories, and surmounted by a sloping roof of heavy grey slate, on which many of the inhabitants pile up their hay in small stacks for winter consumption. The town is very neat. The street has a natural pavement of slaty rock, which is kept beautifully clean; the stone part of the houses is well white-washed, and adorned with queer little paintings; and the tradesmen are not only a fairer, but a much more respectable-looking race than, from the filth and poverty of the agricultural Khasyas," the Bishop had expected to see. He passed two or three little old pagodas and tanks, and a Mussulman burial-ground.

The Mussulmans were treated with great rigour here during the Ghoorkalese Government: they are now fully protected, but their number is small. The fort of Almorah is "a very paltry thing, so ill-contrived as to be liable to escalade, and so ill-situated as to be commanded from two opposite points of land, and not to have a drop of water within its walls.* It is out of repair and not worth mending." The lines for the provincial troops are at Havelbagh, in the valley at the northern foot of the mountain of Almorah, about 2500 feet below; and here, the Bishop took up his residence for a few days at the house of the commandant. The situation is very picturesque. At a considerable depth below the houses, a black stream, the Koosilla, rushes with much violence through a nar-

* See page 332 of our second volume.

row rocky glen. During the dry season, it is fordable. After rain, the only means of crossing it, is by one of those suspension-bridges, of branches and ropes made of grass, which have been from ancient times common in these mountains, and appear to have given the original hint to the chain-bridges of Europe. The summer in the valley is much hotter, so that plantains and mangoes come to some perfection; but in winter, there is more and harder frost than at Almorah. "In the neighbourhood of the snowy mountains, the vegetation, as much of it as exists, is nearly approaching to that of Europe. Raspberries, blackberries, cranberries, and bilberries are found in considerable numbers. The birch and willow here, as in Norway, are the latest trees which shew themselves to persons ascending the hills; but the sides and lower ravines of their feet are covered with noble silver-firs. Few cedars are now to be found in the province. Tradition describes them as having been once very numerous, and as having been destroyed owing to their value as building materials.* In the present forests, fir is the prevailing timber; but, except the silver-firs, they are of a very bad, though tall and stately kind. Great devastations are annually made in these woods, partly by the wasteful habits of travellers, who cut down multitudes of young trees to make temporary huts, and for fuel, while the cattle and goats which browse on the mountains, prevent a great part of the seedlings from rising. Unless some precautions are taken, the inhabited parts of Kumaoon will soon be wretchedly bare of wood; and the country, already too arid, will

* "All the beams in the old Raja's [illegible] at Almorah, when that was taken down to make room for the fort, were found to be of cedar."

lose not only its beauty, but its small space of fertility." *

The province of Kumaoon comprehends the hilly tract lying between the western branch of the Goggrah, called the Kali-nuddee, which divides it from Nepaul on the east, and the Ram-gunga, its western boundary towards Gurwal. Its former capital was Champavati (Champawtee or Chumpwut), the Sanscrit name of which is said to be Kurmachal. The family of the late Rajah originally came from J'hansee near Allahabad, and are said to have been Rajpoots. By what means or authority they were raised to the throne of this distant principality, does not clearly appear; but there seems reason to suppose, that here, as in Cashmeer, intrusive Brahmins had contrived to obtain a political ascendancy, and that they disposed of the crown at their pleasure. † "The marks, indeed, of the sacerdotal power," we are told by Mr. Fraser, "are said to be very prevailing throughout Kumaoon, in the very ancient and comparatively magnificent temples found in different parts." The population also is represented as differing from that of Gurwal and the states to the westward; approaching nearer, in their dress, manners, and customs, to the people of

* Heber, vol. ii. pp. 211—216. Almorah, according to Hamilton, stands in lat. 29° 35′ N., long. 79° 44′ E., ninety miles N. by E. from Bareilly.

† "During the time of the Rajahs of Kumaoon, we are informed, that the power of the priesthood was so great that it might have been deemed absolutely a Brahminical government. The Brahmins of the Josi caste had so overwhelming an influence, that they could do what they pleased—depose or elevate a prince. An instance of this occurred not long ago, when a relative of the Rajah of Sreenuggur was called to the government of Kumaoon by a faction of the Brahmins, and was afterwards deposed by their intrigues."—Fraser, p. 537. See also Hamilton's Hindostan, ii. 651.

the plains, than to those of the neighbouring hills. Champavati * is stated expressly to have been colonized with pure Hindoos. Almorah was built by a Rajah of the Chandra race, who flourished in the reign of Akbar, and who greatly extended his hereditary dominions : he afterwards became a favourite with the Mogul sovereign of Delhi, who granted him permission to coin money in the royal name and Persian

* Dr. Buchanan Hamilton gives the following account. "It is generally agreed, that the founder of the family of Kumau was Thor Chandra, a needy but high-born descendant of the family of the Moon (Chandra), who, about 350 years ago, left Jhansi or Pratishthan, opposite to Allahabad, in quest of fortune. He was accompanied by a pure Brahmin, equally necessitous, named Jahdev, from whom the Nidhis, my informants, claim a descent. They found service from an impure chief of the Jar or the Magar caste, who had a small territory, for which he paid tribute to the Rajahs of Karuvirpoor. Having secured this man's favour, and invited some pure men like themselves, the two servants cut off their master, expelled his subjects, and settled the country with pure Hindus, building the town of Champawati or Kurmachal. Jahdev (to whom the soldier offered the half of the territory) declined the office of government, and contented himself with stipulating for the hereditary officer of register and steward for all the estates which the prowess of the Rajas might acquire." On the death of the grandson of Thor Chandra, without heirs, the Brahmins sent to Jhansi, and procured as a chief, another needy descendant of the Moon (family). His descendants, like their predecessors, continued to pay tribute to the Rajahs of Karuvirpoor, till Roodra Chandra (or Rooderchund), in the time of Akbar, availed himself of a disputed succession to make himself master of that sovereignty. Having extended his conquests in other directions, he built Almorah, and made it the capital of his dominions. He also built Rudrapoor. This prince claimed to be a descendant of "the illustrious Buddha." See Hamilton's Nepaul, pp. 291—297. Also pp 9—24. Mr. Fraser gives a similar account, with some variations. According to his statement, Almorah was founded by Kuleanchund, the father of Rooderchund; and the first rajah of the family, instead of being an adventurer, was elevated to the throne at the age of sixteen or seventeen.—Fraser's Himala Mountains, pp. 539, 40.

character.* One of his successors fought in the Deccan, in the service of Shah-jehan. The throne continued to be occupied by Rajahs of the same family, though not in the direct or legitimate line, and the country enjoyed outward tranquillity, till, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was invaded and desolated by the Rohillas under Ali Mohammed. They were at length expelled from the mountains; but the rich possessions which the Kumaoon rajahs held in the low country, were never recovered. This invasion was followed by a series of intestine disputes and revolutions, till, about 1790, the Ghoorkalese armies, invited by the discontents, entirely reduced the whole country. They were, in their turn, expelled by the British in 1815; and the territory, with that portion of Gurwal which lies east of the Alaknunda and Ganges, was permanently united to the Company's dominions.

The face of the country, though similar in character to the adjacent territories, is said to be less savage and rough than Gurwal. The hills are less lofty, and the valleys more susceptible of cultivation. The people also are of a milder and more effeminate nature. The agricultural labours are conducted chiefly by the women. Bishop Heber speaks of the natives as dirty to a degree which he never saw among Hindoos, and extremely averse to any improvements in their rude and inefficient agriculture, but honest, peaceable, cheerful, and diligent; and "as remarkable for their

* "No other hill chief had a mint except Nepaul, the Rajahs of which have always coined money in their own name, and in the Nagri character."—Buchanan Hamilton. After the overthrow of Karuvirpur, the Yumila Rajah was acknowledged as liege lord, by all the chiefs of the mountains; but his power gradually declined before the rising fortunes of the Chandra rajahs.

love of truth as the Puharrees of Boglipoor." Gentle, however, as they are, they "use their women ill, employing them in the most laborious tasks. A wife is regarded by the Khasya peasant as one of the most laborious and valuable of his domestic animals." They are rigid Hindoos, yet not so inhospitable as their brethren of the plains. The population of Kumaoon amounts, according to the information he received, to about 300,000 persons. That of Gurwal, on the other side of the Alaknunda, is yet more considerable.

The whole population of Gurwal and Kumaoon are called Khasyas, as having settled in the Khas country;* but all pretend to have descended from colonies who have migrated from the south, and disclaim every connexion with the impure barbarians who originally possessed the country.† The Khasyas, Bishop Heber says, "pretend to be all Rajpoots of the highest caste, and are very scrupulous in their eating and drinking. They will not even sell one of their little mountain cows to a stranger, unless he will swear that he will neither kill it himself, nor transfer it to any body else to be killed." One curious peculiarity in their habits is mentioned by the Bishop as distinguish-

* "To the north of these hills (the Sewâlic) and of that unknown race of men whom they call *Kás*, lies Tibet."—Baber's Memoirs, p. 313.

† Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 635. "West from Gurwal, the term Khas is altogether rejected, and it is pretended, that this impure race never held the country." There can be no doubt, however, that Kashmeer, as well, probably, as Kashgar, Kastwar, and the *Koh Khas*, or Caucasus, have taken their name from the aboriginal race, who appear to have possessed the Indian Caucasus, from the eastern limits of India to the confines of Persia. Colonel Wilford supposes their country to be the *Casia* of Ptolemy, and that the Caspian sea was also denominated from them. As. Res., vol. vi. pp. 455, 6. They were, probably, of the same family as the modern Bhotiyas or inhabitants of Bootan.

ing them from their neighbours. "In Kumaoon, the head and neck seem the constant vehicles; but the *Ghurwali*, or inhabitants of the western district of our mountain provinces, who are said to be a more intelligent race, carry their burthens on their back, with a truss like that of an English porter. Thus, they do more work with more ease."

Among the wild animals who inhabit these mountains, "the tiger is found quite up to the glaciers, of size and ferocity undiminished;" there are also lynxes and hyenas, and bears are common and mischievous.* The chamois is not uncommon in the snowy mountains. The musk-deer is found only in the highest parts of the province: it cannot even bear the heat of Almorah. The *yák* (or Thibet cow) also droops as soon as it leaves the neighbourhood of the ice. The shawl-goat will live, but its wool soon degenerates; while the English dog is said not only to improve in strength, size, and sagacity, among the Bhooteahs, but to acquire, in a winter or two, the same fine, short, shawl-wool, mixed up with their own hair, which distinguishes the indigenous animals. The same is, in a considerable degree, the case with horses. Hares are found here, much larger and finer than in the southern provinces, and not inferior to those of Europe. A beautiful flying squirrel is not uncommon in the higher and colder parts of the woods. Small marmots, of the alpine kind, abound in the neighbourhood of the snow; and rats of the same species as those

* The fact of the tiger's hardiness, the Bishop remarks, proves that he, the lion, and the hyena, may have lived in England and France, without any such change of climate as has been supposed to have taken place, in order to account for the recent discoveries of their former dens. The notion that the hyena is untameable, is disproved by the fact, that Mr. Traill, the British magistrate, had one for several years, which followed him about like a dog.

of India, are numerous and troublesome. At Bareilly, Bishop Heber saw a beautiful and rare animal of the deer kind, from the hills; it is called *goonh*, and is sometimes used to carry the children of chiefs. The one described was still young, about the size of a fallow-deer, with upright horns, not palmated; its hair very thick, and as coarse and as strong as hog's bristles; its colour brown, mixed with grey and black. It was very tame and gentle, and was expected to grow tall and stout enough to bear a saddle. But the most remarkable animal of these parts, Bishop Heber says, is a wild dog, in form and fur resembling a fox, but considerably larger and stronger, and exceedingly wild and fierce. Instinct leads these animals to hunt in packs; "they give tongue like dogs, and possess a very fine scent. They make, of course, tremendous havoc among the game in these hills; but that mischief they amply repay by destroying wild beasts and even tigers." These last have been repeatedly found torn in pieces, which could be ascribed to no other enemy. Eagles are numerous and very formidable: they do much injury to the shepherds and goatherds, and sometimes carry away the poor naked children of the peasants.* Quails, partridges, pheasants, larks, not very different from the English, a black thrush, a little black and red bird, with a note nearly resembling the robin's, and (at the foot of the snowy mountains) the goldfinch, are mentioned by Bishop Heber among the winged tribes who inhabit Kumaoon.

We have now attended the Bishop to the extreme

* The eagle of these mountains, the Bishop supposes to be rather the Condor vulture, the *roc* of the Arabians. "Lieutenant Fisher shot one at Degra, which measured thirteen feet between the tips of its extended wings, and had talons eight inches long. He was of a deep black colour, with a bald head and neck."—Heber, vol. ii. p. 277.

point of his enterprising journey northward. He descended into the plains by the more frequented road of Chilkeah and Casherpoor, passing over the summit of Choumoka Devi, a peak 7800 feet above the sea, but covered with noble trees, (cypress, *toon*, and fir,) and commanding a view of the most magnificent mountain scenery. A long and rugged descent of above seven miles, leads into the valley of the Koosilla, and the road continually crosses the stream, till at length it emerges into a broader and beautiful defile. With the exception of the gorge of Mount Gaughur, nothing is seen on the Beemthal road, which equals the banks of the Koosilla in this part of its course. Chilkeah, which the Bishop reached on the sixth day, is a poor place, inhabited only during the healthy season, when it forms one of the principal marts of trade both into Kumaoon, and through that country into Thibet. Ten *coss* further is Casherpoor, " a famous place of Hindoo pilgrimage, with divers temples, and a very holy and dirty tank, where the pilgrims bathe in their way to the temples at the foot of Badrinauth." But its appearance is not less ruinous than Ruderpoor, and the surrounding country is " a very wild, marshy, and jungly plain." On the tenth day (from Almorah), the Bishop reached Moradabad, situated on the sluggish stream of the Ramgunga, and still retaining some remains of its former splendour. Thence, his route lay for three days through the western part of Rohilcund, which appeared poor, sterile, and thinly peopled; and on the fourth, he reached the ferry of the Ganges, which divides the Moradabad district from that of Saharunpoor. Even here, at almost the driest season of the year, the river was found not much less broad than the Thames at

Westminster Bridge, and the elephants were compelled to swim. During the rains, judging from the traces of inundation, it must be nearly four miles across. On the sixth day (from Moradabad), the Bishop reached Meerut in the Doab. Here we leave him for a while, in order to gather up from other sources, some further information with regard to the mountain regions.

The province of Gurwal (Garhawal, Ghurwaul), which extends westward from the Dauli, Alaknunda, and Ramgunga rivers to the Jumna, penetrates, to the north and east, the snowy mountains, meeting the Chinese territories in an undefined line. Its superficial extent is estimated at 9000 square miles; but a very small portion is either cultivated or inhabited, large tracts being abandoned to the undisturbed possession of the wild animals. It contains two geographical divisions: Gurwal Proper, occupying the whole of the lower ranges of hills; and the snowy mountains from which descend the sources of the Ganges. Serinagur, the capital, situated on the Alaknunda, (in lat. 30° 11′ N., long. 78° 44′ E.) is the only town of consequence; besides which, there are two which claim mention: Barahaut, the modern residence of the Gurwal Raja; and Dehra, the chief town in the fertile *doon* (or strath) to which it gives name, and which has been retained by the British Government. The province abounds, however, with celebrated places of Hindoo worship, which seem to have been held sacred for many years, although there is reason to suppose that the conversion of the natives to the Brahminical faith took place at no very remote period. Four of the five *prayags* or sacred confluences, as well as the supposed source of the Ganges itself at Gun-

gautri, are within the limits of this miserable principality.*

The country lying west of Gurwal, between the Jumna and the Sutlej, (an area of about ninety miles by sixty,) is divided among a number of petty states and lordships, who, since their deliverance from the Ghoorkalese yoke, have been taken under the British protection. Sirmore, which had for its capital Nahn; Kahlore (or Kuhloor), the capital of which is Belaspoor; Hindoor; and Bussaher (Besariya, Busahur, Bischur), of which the capital is Rampoor; are the four most considerable principalities. Besides these, there are enumerated twelve *thakooria* or lordships, and fourteen petty chiefships.

For any minute knowledge of the topography of that portion of the mountain region which lies between the Alaknunda and the Sutlej, we are indebted chiefly to the journal of a tour through those parts by Mr. Fraser, undertaken in 1815; in the course of which he penetrated to several points never before visited by a European. On the 9th of March in that year, he left Delhi for the British camp, then lying before the fort of Jytok in Sirmore.† He proceeded by *dawk* to Kurnal, a town seventy-six miles N. of the Mogul capital, and at that time the most remote military position held by the British in that direction. On the 12th, he left Kurnal, and proceeded through a tract of level

* Viz. 1. *Devaprayaga* or *Deoprag*, formed by the junction of the Bhagirathi and the Alaknunda, twelve miles W. from Serinagur. 2. *Rudraprayaga* or *Roodarprag*, where the Alaknunda receives the Kaligunga, nineteen miles N. E. from Serinagur. 3. *Carnaprayaga*, five miles higher up, at the mouth of the Pindar 4. *Nandaprayaga*, the most northerly, where the Alaknunda receives the Nandakini. *Vishnuprayaga*, where the Dauli, or Sati, joins the same river, is not held in much veneration. See pp. 20—22 of our first volume.

† See page 319 of our second volume.

country generally fertile though sandy, by Indree, Rodore, and Seidoura, to the pass of Moginund, twelve *coss* beyond the last mentioned town. The plain extends without the slightest undulation to the very foot of the hills, which rise from it, sudden and rugged as rocks from the sea, the boundary being quite as sharply marked. The pass by which he entered them, is a water-course dividing the low ridge next the plain, (which, rising from 500 to 700 feet in height, runs all the way from Hurdwar to this point,) from the more lofty and rugged range behind, on which Nahn is situated. The low hills are of sand-stone, mixed with indurated clay and beds of gravel. The ridge is from three to six miles in breadth. The next range, rising to a height of from 1500 to 5000 feet, with sharp, narrow crests, consists of a very friable greyish brown clay, containing siliceous matter. Just beyond this range rises a mountain of limestone, about 7000 feet in height; and divided from this by a considerable stream, is a mass of mountains, presenting varieties of schist, with much mica and veins with quartz. As the snowy mountains were approached, rocks of white quartz were observed, and of a hard, semi-transparent stone of many colours, red, yellow, and greenish.*

Nahn is a small town, built, like Almorah, on the crest of a hill nearly 2000 feet above the level of the plains. The ridge is so uneven, that the whole forms a collection of petty ascents and descents. The principal street consists of many small flights of steps cut in the rock. The buildings are of stone, cemented generally with lime, with flat roofs, and are remarkably small. The rajah's palace has a neat but not very remarkable appearance, nor do the temples

* See, for further geological remarks, Fraser, pp. 312—322.

exhibit any splendour. The place has been, ever since the Ghoorka conquest, in a state of decay. The hill on which Nahn is built, forms part of the north-western boundary of the Kearda valley. The face of the surrounding country is peculiarly rugged, the hills, all the way to the Girree river, rising into sharp, narrow ridges and high peaks. The rock is covered with a thin crust of soil, which appears to be formed by the decomposition of the stone. Much cultivation, wherever the ground admits of being worked, speckles the wooded declivities. This is effected by cutting the slope into a succession of terraces. A large proportion of the mountain sides is thus seen carved into stripes, which has a very singular appearance. Villages, either inhabited or in ruins, abound all over them. Could it be supposed that all these had been occupied at the same time, it would give a strong impression of former populousness and present desolation; but Mr. Fraser says, that, "as one place became exhausted," or as various accidents might determine, the people would quit one village, leaving it to fall into decay, for another situation. The houses are all flat-roofed, rudely constructed of stone and wood, the side of the hill sometimes serving for one of the walls. The doors are so small that a man must creep through them. But, with all this rudeness, the Author was surprised at the neatness he found within. "The floor is smooth, well swept, and clean, and the fire-place in the middle is well contrived, although the smoke must annoy those who are not accustomed to its effects. The cows, their chief wealth, have always a respectable share of the house, comfortable and dry; but they do not give them a much larger opening through which to make their entrance, than they allow themselves; and I have sometimes admired

the animals insinuating themselves through so narrow an aperture. These villages are often very pleasantly situated, and almost always adorned with a few lemon or walnut-trees, or, where they will grow, mango-trees, that throw a grateful shade over the houses; and terraces of stone, built at their roots, yield a comfortable seat under their branches."* In the forests are found *sâl*, *sisoo*, and *toon*-trees, with a few of a peculiar species of oak.

The natives of these hills are described by Mr. Fraser as universally diminutive in size, but of a make remarkably stout, compact, and muscular. Their colour, like that of their neighbours in the plains, varies from dark-brown or black to a tawny yellow; and in a few instances, it approaches to white. Their hair and beard are black. The crown is often shaven bare, but the hair is worn long at the sides. The general cast of countenance is Hindoo, but without the softness and intelligence of the Hindoo physiognomy.† They have eyes sunk deep into the head; nose prominent and sharp; forehead high and round; high cheek-bones; long chin; and the whole visage long and spare, and much drawn into wrinkles at the corners of the eyes and brows from exposure to the sun. The usual covering for the head is "a dirty scull-cap of cotton, beneath which their wild locks and hard features look forth in savage guise;" but the chiefs affect the Seik turban. A cotton jacket ending in skirts and reaching to the knee, something like the Scotch philibeg; cotton trowsers; and a piece

* Fraser, pp. 60—64.

† Their language also, Mr. Fraser says, as well as their religion, is similar to that of their neighbours in the plains; but he imagines, what is not very probable, that it may be of comparatively recent adoption. He represents them as "mean in aspect, cringing in address, degraded in intellect, and brutally ignorant."—P. 67.

of cotton cloth thrown round the shoulder in the manner of the Scotch plaid; compose the rest of their dress. The poorer sort are, however, obliged to content themselves with thick, coarse, woollen drawers and a blanket, which, when it rains, they bring over the head. The women are, in general, of more pleasing appearance, possessing, in youth, much of the Hindoo softness, with features far more delicate and regular than those of the men, and lighter complexion; but labour and exposure to the sun and storm, soon destroy both complexion and features, leaving only a wrinkled, sallow visage. Their dress is the same as that of the women of the plains. Chastity is "a virtue little known here, and less valued;" and a custom of a most revolting nature is said to prevail, that of *polyandry*. The common and established Hindoo deities are acknowledged, and there are temples erected to them; but the local deities, good and evil, with which the superstition of these *Puharrees* has peopled every hill, and grove, and dell, engage the chief portion of their fervent and fearful devotion. There is a partial observance of caste; but almost every one, as in Kumaoon, calls himself a Rajpoot, except a few, who honestly confess themselves to be *coolies*, or *chumars* (shoemakers), that is, of the lowest class.*

* Mr. Fraser witnessed, at one village, a very extraordinary practice. "Several straw sheds are constructed on a bank, above which, a cold clear stream is led to water their fields. A small portion of this water is brought into the shed by a hollow stick or piece of bark, and falls from this spout into a small drain. The women bring their children to these huts in the heat of the day, and having lulled them to sleep, and wrapped their bodies and feet warm in a blanket, they place them on a small bench in such a way that the water shall fall upon the crown of the head, just keeping the whole top wet with its stream. We saw two under this operation; and several others came in while we remained, to place their

The *Kearda Doon*, a rich and level tract running from the Jumna westward nearly to the foot of the hill of Nahn, is the only valley in Sirmore capable of being fully cultivated. There are some other spots, however, of great beauty, which Mr. Fraser had an opportunity of seeing in accompanying his brother, the political agent to the British army, to the districts on the Sutlej. On leaving the camp before Nahn, the route they pursued, passed over some steep ridges to the valley of the Jelall river. From this, they ascended, by a very steep and romantic gorge or lateral valley, to the village of Chinalgurh, perched on a lofty rock overhanging the glen with its mountain stream. Still ascending, but slanting westward, the road led along the curiously cut ledges and masses of limestone rock, to Deener Keener, a considerable village at the summit of the narrow ridge* which divides the basin of the Jelall from that of the Girree. Looking down the latter valley towards the north, the majestic mountain called the *Choor*, bursts on the eye through a vista formed by the rocky cliffs on either side of the gorge, which almost close

children in a similar way. Males and females are equally used thus, and their sleep seemed sound and unruffled. The mode of lulling asleep too, was singular. Seizing the infant with both arms, with these, aided by the knee, they gave it a violent rotatory motion that seemed calculated to shake the child to pieces, rather than to produce the soft effect of slumber. It was, however, unerring in its effects. On inquiry, we were informed, that this singular process for lulling and bathing the children is universally used throughout the hills, under the notion that it is very salutary to keep the head cool, and that it increases hardihood and strength."—Fraser, pp. 105, 6.

* Mr. Fraser calls it the *Sine* range. It is entirely of limestone, and is very different in form from either the sharp ridges of the Jytok hills, or "the rounder loftiness" of those to the N. of the Girree.

over the village. Its "large brown bosom" is seen scarred by many deep and dark ravines, all of which pour their waters into the Girree, that flows at its feet. This mountain, which divides the hill provinces of Sirmore and Jubal (or Joobul), is higher than Etna, being 11,689 feet above the level of the sea.* To the northward of the village, seventy or eighty feet below, lay a fine rich bed of wheat, twenty or thirty acres in extent. A narrow and irregular ladder road leads down the north-western face of the mountain, into a rocky glen, sometimes beautifully, sometimes horridly wild. At length, our Traveller reached the banks of the Girree, at this season (May) fordable, and having the character of a romantic mountain stream; but, on the melting of the snows or during the rains, it becomes a savage torrent. Amid the scenery of this day's march, "Asia," says Mr. Fraser, "was almost lost in our imagination: a native of the British Isles might have believed himself wandering among the lovely and romantic scenes of his own country." The waters both of the Jelall and the Girree abound in fish, some of which are tolerably good.

* This was one of the trigonometrical stations selected by Capt. Hodgson and Lieut. Herbert; and its height was accurately ascertained. The snow lies deep on its northern side, generally till the commencement of the rains in June: the mountain then becomes shrouded in mist and clouds. From the 20th of April to the end of May, and from the autumnal equinox till the middle of October, are the only seasons at which the station was found tenable; but even then, the fury of the wind is great, and the cold intense, water and ink being frozen immediately after sunset.—Asiat. Res., xiv. p. 197. The Choor is seen at a great distance from every point, and is the nucleus of the whole system of hills in this quarter. Streams descend from it in every direction, which swell either the Girree on one side, or the Pabur on the other. See Fraser, p. 133.

Thus far, the northern or north-eastern face of the hills was found uniformly the most wooded and the least rugged, while the southern or south-western is almost always rough, bare, and brown. The very opposite is the characteristic of the glens within the Himalaya range, all of which run from N.N.E. and N.E. to S.S.W. and S.W. "The face exposed to the N.W." Mr. Colebrooke says, "is invariably rugged and abrupt; and the opposite one, facing the S.E., is shelving." On the north-western declivity, it is, however, added, "the trees rise several hundred feet higher than those upon the opposite face, which has a more gentle slope; and in some instances, the difference exceeds a thousand feet."* On the northern bank of the Girree, the limestone gives place to slate; and the transition is pretty distinctly marked at this point by the bed of the river.† On reaching the opposite ridge, a valley presented itself, better cultivated than any spot of equal extent which had yet been seen, and studded with villages, which had a very novel and picturesque effect from the style of their architecture. In every one, there are two or three lofty towers, rising to the height of five or six stories, with overhanging roofs: many were partly decayed, and resembled the ruins of old castles. Peach-trees were here observed in full bearing, and many noble walnut-trees laden with young fruit; also, a tree called *kaiful*, bearing a fruit somewhat resembling a mulberry, but with a stone; it is said to be delicious

* Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, i. 346.

† During the next day's route, a micaceous slate predominated, inclining to red and dead blue. Quartz was also seen, sometimes veining the schistus, and now and then masses of a hard stone resembling whinstone. Iron was very obvious in many places: several springs were impregnated with it in colour and smell.—Fraser, p. 119.

when ripe, and of a pleasing acid. Apricot-trees, large and spreading, pear-trees, mulberry-trees, and many other fruit-trees and odoriferous shrubs, grow here luxuriantly, and the larch is now first met with. Wood is, however, less abundant, and the mountains are covered only with a short grass. The day's march, which was nearly an uninterrupted ascent, terminated at the ruined fort of Rajgurh,—seated upon a projecting point which overlooks a large basin to the northward, watered by the Peirowee *nullah*. This stream, rising from one of the "shoulders of Choor," flows in a south-westerly direction, and meets the Girree.*

The next day, crossing the Peirowee, they again ascended the hills to a large village called Gudrotee, containing several towers of from fifty to sixty feet high, built of dry stone with a frame-work of wood, and several pagodas ornamented with much carved work in wood. "Their strange overhanging roofs were fringed with a row of small pieces of wood, hanging down, and resembling bobbins strung beneath the cornice, and each corner had the image of a bell in wood hanging from it. Figures of Hindoo divinities ornamented the doors and windows, forming a strange combination of Chinese and Hindoo taste. A large beam, with notches cut into it at intervals, forms the only means of ascent to these lofty edifices, each story

* "We observed in our march to-day a singular phenomenon,—a great number of caterpillars, which appeared to be migrating: they were proceeding in one line, with their heads and tails united one to another, so that the whole, consisting of some hundreds, assumed the appearance of one thin animal, many feet long. The strength of their adhesion to each other was so considerable, that it was by no means easy to separate them. Their bodies were of a grey colour striped with black, with black heads and tails."—Fraser, p. 119.

being furnished with its separate rude ladder." In the adjacent valley, the Author counted twenty villages, mostly perched on little eminences, or spotting the higher declivities; and several groves of a fir resembling the silver fir, gave much effect to the landscape.

A fatiguing march of eleven miles and a quarter, led to the village of Shai, on the banks of the Bugetthoo *nullah*; a fine stream proceeding from the north-western shoulder of Choor, and running S. E. The next day, they ascended for seven hours another lofty ridge, clothed with noble forests of oak, fir, holly, and rhododendron; and then, by a very rapid and almost precipitous descent of three hours, reached a singular hollow, near the confluence of two wild streams, which form the Bisharee *nullah*, the boundary here between Sirmore and Joobul. At about ten *coss* further, at a village called Bhotog, this stream falls into the Girree. Entering the Joobul territory, the party had now to encounter the most difficult and perilous ascent which had yet occurred. It required the frequent application of both hands and feet to get on; and when, at the end of four hours and a half, they reached the gorge of the pass, the people were completely exhausted. The view from the summit was magnificent, the elevation being probably not 1500 feet below Choor itself. "Several ranges of long and lofty hills running into each other, and divided only by ravines, like chasms in a rock, with every variety of form and feature,—in some places covered with noble pine forests, in others, studded with villages and cultivation, or bursting into bare brown rocks,—lay before us," says the Author, "fading in distance till half lost. Above them, here and there, a peak of the snowy range might be seen; while in

front, a deep forest of old pines rose from the dell below, hiding its rocky masses, or only allowing them to appear to contrast with their dark foliage. A rich carpet was under our feet. The name of the pass, taken from that of the two peaks on each side, is Chaghat and Bughat."

As usual, another descent was to be looked for, which ended in a glen deep and dark, clothed with the finest pines and rich underwood, with the craggy bed of a torrent at the bottom. "Roses, jasmines, raspberries, strawberries, ferns, and thousands of beautiful and fragrant plants," adorned the banks of the stream, which, joined by other torrents, forms at length the Shashallee-khola. In the evening, the party reached the fort of Choupal.

The hill state of Joobul is "the principal of those of the second class," and is of considerable extent. It is bounded on the S. and S. E. by Sirmore; on the E. and N. E. by Gurwal, from which it is divided by the Pabur river; and on the N., N. W., and W. by the petty states of Bulsum and Coteegooroo, and the Saree district of Bischur. On crossing the Bisharee *nullah*, the dress of the inhabitants and their general appearance exhibited a manifest difference. Instead of the dirty cotton cap and gown of Sirmore, the natives wear a black cap of shaggy wool, somewhat like a highland bonnet compressed; trowsers of a thick, dark-striped woollen stuff, tied at the knee, and reaching, in wrinkles, to the heels; and a coat of similar texture, gathered tight round the waist, and reaching in folds to the knees. There is no town in Joobul that has any pretensions to be considered as a capital. The residence of the Rana was in the valley of Deyrah; but Choupal, from its central situation and its being a fortress, is considered as the place of most

importance. Around it, there is a good deal of cultivation and a tolerably populous country. It is situated on the Gudhala ridge, which is a projection from a greater one connecting Choor with a large mountain called Urrukta.

In proceeding from Choupal to Deyrah, the route, after crossing the bed of the *Cotha nullah*, flowing from the *Poonur* valley,* ascends to the crest of this principal ridge, and thence winds round the right hand slope of the northern peak of the mountain. Like Choor, the Urrukta is covered, towards the top, with deep and venerable forests, particularly on the northern side. Pines of all species, and in every stage of growth, hollies and oaks of enormous size, sycamore and yew of the most varied forms, and a birch-tree precisely similar to that of Scotland, unite in producing a splendid effect. Sweet-briar was found in great abundance. The soil covering the rock is a rich black vegetable mould, affording a luxuriant carpet, composed of all sorts of strawberries, columbines, lilies of the valley, buttercups, yellow, blue, and white cowslips, a small and very beautiful flower, purple and blue, partaking of the auricula and cowslip, a superb blackish purple lupine, and a species of larkspur of a lovely blue. "Such was the slope," continues Mr. Fraser, "but steep and interrupted with rocks and fallen trees, over which we reached the pass between the two peaks of the Urrukta; whence, looking northward, the whole stupendous range of the Himala burst upon our view, now no longer fading into distance, but clear and well defined. Bright with snow, and rising far above all

* This valley forms a *pergunnah* which is occupied by a singularly bold and savage clan, very distinct in their character from the other natives of Joobul; treacherous, cruel, and untameably wild, "terrible marauders," and maintaining a fierce independence.—Fraser, p. 153.

intervening obstacles, they stretched, bounding our view, from far beyond the Sutlej, till our sight was interrupted where, in all probability, the hills of Gungotri and Buddrinauth arose. The very lofty and shaggy ranges which are thrown from their feet up towards that on which we stood, shrunk into petty hills at their presence. The view which we enjoyed from the edge of the ridge we descended (in a westerly direction), was exceedingly diversified and fine. On either hand, a deep glen sloped gradually down to the river Pabur, very richly cultivated, and studded with villages and groves: the heights beyond were crested with forts. On the banks of a stream in the valley of Deyrah, the Rana's house was conspicuous. Beyond, were the wild craggy roots of the snowy mountains; and above them towered their peaks in calm and awful stillness, lighted up by the declining sun. In front a deep glen, formed by a recess in these mountains, shewed the course of the Pabur. A black, rough ridge, which approached from these on the left, runs between it and the Sutlej. To the left, the valley of the Tonse appeared at no great distance; and beyond its eastern boundary, we could trace that formed by the Jumna." *

The valley of the Pabur is tolerably broad and level, the soil rich, and well cultivated with rice, it being lower than most of the circumjacent country, and the heat is considerable. The fortress of Raeengurh is built on a small insulated rock, from 300 to 400 feet in height, which rises from the northern side of the river. It is inaccessible in most parts, and where it was possible even to stand, the Ghoorkalese had strongly stockaded it. The ridge which shuts in the Deyrah *doon* on the north, (called the Deyrah or

* Fraser, pp. 159, 160.

Deohra *dhar*,) divides Joobul from Bischur. On its northern side, is the valley of Nawur, which is particularly rich and well cultivated. Above this valley rises an eminence called *Chumbee-ke-Teeba*, which connects with the Noaghur and Whartoo range,—a very strong and lofty tract, along the heights of which the Ghoorkalese had formed a chain of fortified redoubts and stockades. From the fort of Whartoo, (seated on "probably the highest peak between the Sutlej and the Jumna, except the great mountains of Urrukta and Choor," *) the whole of this range and its various branches may be traced, stretching on one side to the Girree, and on the other to the Sutlej,—all studded with stockades and forts. Not only the hills beyond the Sutlej, towards the Beyah and the Rauvee, but the valleys of those rivers may be distinguished.†

The valley of the Sutlej (which, till within a few years, was supposed to have its origin in the Himalaya range, but is now known to rise in Chinese Tatary) has recently been explored to a considerable extent. In October 1819, Lieutenant Herbert, in the prosecution of his survey, traced the Tonse river to its source in the snowy range, very near that of the Jumna, and issuing from the northern face of the same cluster of peaks. The river, at its escape from the snow bed, is 31 feet wide and knee-deep.‡ From

* Whartu fort is at an elevation of 10,673 feet; in lat. 31° 14′ 25″, long. 77° 29′ 19″.—As. Res. vol. xiv. p. 323.

† Had Ummur Singh retired to these fastnesses, Mr. Fraser thinks, that it would have been found almost impracticable to invest him, or to give him much annoyance in a place so remote, without roads that admit of the conveyance of artillery. The excessive cold of winter, however, renders Whartoo quite untenable at that season. Raeengurgh has been made a military post.—See vol. ii. p. 333.

‡ Lat. 31° 2′ 48″, long. 78° 28′ 50″; elevation, 12,784 feet.—As. Res. vol. xiv. p. 328.

this point, he crossed the southern ridge of the Himalaya by the *Gunas* pass, elevated 15,459 feet above the sea;* and descending thence, came upon the valley of the river Baspa, a principal feeder of the Sutlej, "originating in that cluster of high peaks which are situated in a re-entering angle of the range above Jumnotri, and from which, in another direction, are derived the more eastern rivers." From its confluence with the Sutlej near Sangla, he followed the course of the latter river upward to Shipkee, a frontier village of the Chinese territories, situated in lat. 31° 48′ 40″, long. 78° 44′ 31″, at an elevation above the sea, of 10,454 feet, and 1187 above the bed of the river, which is still here, even in the dry season, a considerable stream. There could scarcely be a better defined frontier. "In front, the face of the country is entirely changed: eastward, as far as the eye can see, gravelly mountains of a very gentle slope succeed one another. No rugged cliffs rise to view, but a bare expanse of elevated land, without snow, and in appearance like a Scotch heath. Just beyond the Sutlej, the mighty Pargeúl, an immense mass, rises to 13,500 above the bed of the river; more than 21,000 above the sea. To the east of it, in the same granitic ranges, are several sharp pinnacles, nearly as high, being more than 20,000 feet above the sea. On the S.W., at the back of the town of Shipkee, is an enormous mass, 20,150 feet high, crowned with perpetual snow."†

* This pass (lat. 31° 21′, long. 78° 8′) leads from the valley of the Rupin into that of the Baspa. The road for six miles lay over snow from three to six feet deep. At the summit, it was more than nine feet. The thermometer, at sunset, stood at 33°.—As. Res. vol. xiv. p. 329. Capt. Gerard makes its elevation 16,026 feet.

† Trans. Roy. As. Soc. vol. i. pp. 361, 2.

A hundred and ten miles below Shikpee, the Sutlej (there called by the Bhoteas the *Sang-jing kanpa*) receives another stream, nearly equal in size, called the *Spiti-maksang*.* From this confluence (in lat. 31° 48′ 20″; long. 78° 37′ 45″; elevation, 8038 feet), Lieut. Herbert ascended the Spiti to Lari, a frontier village of Ladak, in lat. 32° 4′ 32″; long. 78° 23′ 40″. The bed of the river is here, 2544 feet above the confluence. In this part of the route, the mountains appeared to be entirely a clay slate, bare of vegetation, with little snow, and evidently of inferior elevation: from all which it may be inferred, that he was then on the northern face of the great range. The climate is there so dry, that the houses are built of sun-dried brick. The breed of shawl-goats is found in the vicinity. Having no particular motive for penetrating further in this direction, and the season being advanced, Lieut. Herbert returned from this place; although he had little doubt of being able to penetrate even to Leh, the capital of Ladak. The road was described as good, and the people as by no means manifesting the same jealousy as those subject to the Chinese authority.†

In the year 1821, Captain A. Gerard, accompanied by his brother, having already surveyed the middle valley of the Sutlej for scientific purposes, undertook an exploratory journey into the recesses of the great Indian chain. Their previous survey had terminated

* The Sutlej is called by the lower mountaineers Satudra, Sutroodra, Soottrooz, Sobtlooj, and Sutlej. Its proper name, Mr. Fraser says, is *Sut Roodra*, "which it derives from Roodra, one of the appellations of Mahadeo, for it is a sacred stream." By the people of Kanaur, Lieut. Herbert says, it is called *Zugti*; and by the Tatars, *Sang-jing* (or Lang-jing) *kanpa*. *Kanpa*, as well as *sanpu* and *maksang*, signifies a river.

† Asiat. Res. xiv. pp. 190, 200, 329.

at Rôl in Baséhar (or Bischur), near the foot of the Shatul pass; elevated 9350 feet above the sea, and the highest inhabited land without the Himalaya. Here, the wheat seldom ripens; and when the rains fall early in June, most of the grains are cut green. From Rôl, the Travellers proceeded through a fine wood of oak, yew, pine, rhododendron, and horse-chestnut, with some juniper, to *Buchkalghat*, just over-topping the forest at the height of 11,800 feet. They thence passed by an extremely difficult way, among piles of loose stones, to Rëúni, a halting place for travellers, on the bank of a rivulet, at an elevation of 11,750 feet. In the vicinity were stunted birches, dwarf oaks, pines, juniper, and two species of rhododendron. Flowers abounded, such as thyme and cowslips, the soil being a rich moist black turf, not unlike peat. From this point, they determined to strike directly across the ridge, which they accomplished: its elevation was found, by barometric measurement, to be 15,556 above the sea. The rocks are here chiefly mica slate and gneiss. On the crest of the pass, the temperature did not rise above 41° at noon (June 10), and was at 26° and 24° at sun-rise. The snow, at this season, is continuous from the elevation of 13,450 feet. They suffered much here from head-ache and difficulty of breathing.

These adventurous Travellers now proceeded to explore the glens and valleys of the tributary streams which fall into the Pabur river: in particular, the valley of the Sipon, and that of the Pabur itself; visiting the confluence of those rivers, the summit of the ridge which divides them, and the sources of both.* The *Yusu* pass, at the head of the Sipon river,

* These were previously visited by Lieut. Herbert. The Sipon river must be the Supin or Tonse of the latter Traveller; but

is at an elevation of 15,877 feet; and the dell between this and *Bandajan* pass (14,854 feet above the sea), is shut in, towards the E., by snow-capped mountains, upwards of 17,000 feet high. They descended into the valley of the Baspa, sliding down the declivity of a snow-bed, by seating themselves on a blanket, and then, by a dreadfully dangerous foot-path along the rugged sides of the dell. In some places, it crossed snow-beds inclined at an angle of 30° or more; and they had to cut steps in the snow. The Baspa is a noble river, running through a romantic valley, which, according to the vague tradition of the natives, was formerly a lake, and it has every appearance of it. The Travellers advanced to the confluence of the Baspa and the Bakti, and thence ascended the latter to its confluence with the Nalgun. They also explored the pass at the head of the Rúsá river. They next proceeded, by the *Charang* pass (17,348 feet high), to the valley of the Nangalti, and following its course to its junction with the Tidung, explored the valley of the latter river, which flows from the E.S.E., having its source in Chinese Tatary. The description of this head of the Sutlej merits citation.

"The valley of the Tidung is very narrow; in parts so much so as scarcely to afford a passage for

Captain Gerard says, that it is called, in its upper course, *Yúsí*. He represents it as forcing its passage between mural rocks of granite, in impenetrable obscurity, under immense heaps of indestructible ice, running in ridges, and studded with mounds of snow. The source of the Pabur is stated to be in a lake called *Charamdí*, above a mile in circuit, whence the river rushes forth over a perpendicular rock, forming a fine cascade. Above it, are enormous banks of snow, 80 or 100 feet in thickness. Just beyond them are three high passes, *Nibrang*, *Gunas*, and *Ghusal*, which lead over the summit into the valley of the Baspa. These passes were subsequently visited from the other side.

the river. The stream is furiously rapid, the declivity very great, and the rumbling of large stones, carried down with velocity by the force of the water, was incessant. For six or seven miles, the fall of the river is 300, and in some places almost 600 feet per mile. It there presents an entire sheet of foam and spray, thrown up and showered upon the surrounding rocks with loud concussion, re-echoed from bank to bank with a noise like thunder. The dell of the Tidung, at *Húns*, a Tatar village, is confined by towering cliffs of white granite and mica slate. The mountains in the neighbourhood of *Chárang* are all of blue slate, naked to their tops, and exhibiting decay and barrenness in the most frightful forms. They tower in sharp detached groupes to about 18,000 feet. No vegetation approaches their bases, while their elevated summits offer no rest to snow. Where the dell was narrowest, there was so little space for the stream, that the road continued but for a small distance on the same side, and crossed the river repeatedly by *sangas*: one was inclined at an angle of 15°. The Travellers had to pick their way, one while upon smooth surfaces of granite sloping to the raging torrent; at another, the route led among huge masses and angular blocks of rock, forming capacious caves, where fifty or sixty people might rest. Here, the bank was formed of rough gravel, steeply inclined to the river; there, the path was narrow, with a precipice of 500 or 600 feet below, while the naked towering peaks and mural rocks, rent in every direction, threatened the passenger with ruin from above. In some parts of the road, there are flights of steps; in others, frame-work, or rude staircases, opening to the gulf below. In one place, was a construction still more frightful to behold; it is called *rápïá*, and is

made with extreme difficulty and danger. It consisted of six posts, driven horizontally into clefts of the rocks, about twenty feet distant from each other, and secured by wedges. Upon this giddy frame, a staircase of fir-spars was erected, of the rudest nature: twigs and slabs of stone connected them together. There was no support on the outer side, which was deep, and overhung the Tidúng, a perfect torrent. After surmounting this terrific passage, they came to another, where the footpath had been swept away. It would have been impracticable, but, from previous intimation, thirty people had been despatched the preceding night, from *Thangí*, and had just completed two tolerable *sangas* by the time the party arrived, so that they passed in safety. The last mile and a half to *Thangí* was better. The road ascended from the river, often by staircases and scaffolding; and at the village, the shade of the *deödár* and *neoza*, two species of pine, was again enjoyed." *

The valley of the Tagla, which has also its source in Chinese Tatary, was next explored. It flows from the N. E., but receives several streams from the S. W. and S. E. They continue along its banks to Zongcheng, situated in latitude 31° 36′, at an elevation of 14,700 feet, which, according to the formerly received theory, should be buried under everlasting snow; but the aspect of the country is far different. On every side of the glen, which is a bow-shot broad, appeared gently sloping hills, for the most part covered with Tatarian furze (*tama*). The banks of the river were covered with grass turf and prickly bushes; and flocks of sheep and herds of deer were browsing around. Altogether, it was a romantic spot, wanting only trees

* Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. pp. 353,4.

to make it delightful. The rocks are limestone; the soil, a stiff yellow clay, rent in every direction by small fissures, and seeming to have been under water. The Tagla was traced above Zong-cheng, until it was reduced to an inconsiderable rivulet at the foot of the *Kiubrang* pass (18,313 feet high), which is reckoned the boundary between Kunawur and that part of Chinese Tatary which is under the authority of the Great Lama of Lahasa (or Lassa).

"It seems surprising," Captain Gerard remarks, "that the limit of vegetation should rise higher, the further we proceed; but so it is. On ascending the southern slope of the snowy range, the extreme height of cultivation is 10,000 feet; and even there, the crops are frequently cut green. The highest habitation is 9,500 feet; 11,800 feet may be reckoned the upper limit of forest; and 12,000 that of bushes: although, in a few sheltered situations, such as ravines, dwarf-birches and small bushes are found almost at 13,000 feet. In the valley of the Baspa river, the highest village is at 11,400 feet; the cultivation reaches to the same elevation; and the forest extends to 13,000 feet at the least. Advancing further, you find villages at 13,000 feet; cultivation at 13,600 feet, fine birch-trees at 14,000 feet, and *tama* bushes (which furnish excellent fire-wood) at 17.000 feet. To the eastward, towards Manassoravar, by the accounts of the Tatars, it would appear that crops and bushes thrive at a still greater height. Did vegetation extend no higher than on the southern face of the Himalaya, Tatary would be uninhabitable by either man or beast." *

* Trans. of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 357. The learned Director (Mr. Colebrooke) endeavours to account for this remarkable fact, by observing, that "reverberation of heat must produce like effects of concentrated warmth at the level of the sea and on

These indefatigable Travellers made several attempts to penetrate into the Chinese territories, by the *Húkëo* pass * above the Sumdo river; by the Shipkee route, leading to Gárú; and by the *Charang-lama* pass; but were uniformly turned back by the Tatars at the first Chinese stations. They subsequently traversed the Spiti district in different directions. This is a territory situated between Chinese Tatary, Ladak, Kooloo, and Bischur (Basehar); and pays tribute to each. "The inhabitants are all Tatars, and follow the Lama religion. There are lead mines. The villages are from 12,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea. Towards Ladak, the habitations must be still more elevated, the country barren, and the climate inhospitable." Yet, these Travellers felt regret at bidding farewell to the serenity of a Tataric sky and the charms of even that arid country, when they prepared to descend, with the Sutlej, to the moist and burning plains of Hindostan.

The point at which this most interesting survey terminates, in the district of Bischur, connects it with the journey of Mr. Fraser, who had advanced as far as the capital of that territory, when he was summoned to accompany his brother into the province of Gurwal. Here, therefore, we shall endeavour to give, in as compressed a form as possible, the substance of the information he has furnished respecting this mountainous district.

Rampore, the capital of Bischur, situated, according

the table land of mountains. Accordingly, it does appear, that, in the exterior chain of the Himalaya, where heat is reflected to it but from one side, the warmth is much less than in the interior cluster, where there is reverberation from all quarters."—*Ib.* p. 379.

* On the elevated land between Húkëo and Zinchin (16,200 feet high), ammonites were picked up, "which, if not precisely *in situ*, had probably not come from a remote situation."

to Captain Gerard, in lat. 31° 27′, long. 77° 08′, stands on the left bank of the Sutlej, 3300 feet above the sea.* The spot is said to be hot and unhealthy in summer, and as cold in winter. The houses are of stone and slated, and some are very neat. "It was once," Mr. Fraser says, "a flourishing place, the entrepôt for the merchandize brought by the traders of Hindostan, and for the produce of Cashmeer, Ladak, Bootan, Kashgar, Yarcund, &c. In the days of its prosperity, it may have contained three or four hundred houses and a large bazar, well filled with the commodities of these various countries. For this commerce, the passage of the river Sutlej through the hills forms a convenient channel; and the road, which is now difficult, might be much improved, without incurring any extravagant expense. There is no *ghaut* practicable for the conveyance of merchandize, between that at Buddrinauth and this at Rampore. This circumstance gave to Rampore its importance, and made it to the westward, what Sreenugger was to the eastward, a depôt and mart for the products of the above-mentioned countries. Much was told us of the splendour of the late Rajah and his court, and of the former opulence of the place. The struggle with the Ghoorkalese first impoverished the country; and the finishing stroke was put to the destruction of the capital, by the sudden invasion of a Ghoorkalese force. At this time, by far the greater proportion of the houses were in ruins, and the rest very thinly inhabited. The bazar contained only the booths of a few poor *bunyas*, miserably supplied, and

* Under the town, a rope bridge (*jhoola*) of 211 feet, crosses the Sutlej, leading to Rúlú. On the opposite bank, the Cooloo Government has established a custom-house. Three forts, crowned with huge towers and battlements, crown the summit of the height.

every thing bespoke wretchedness and poverty. Rampore is a place of considerable sanctity. It possesses several temples of tolerable construction; one to Maha-deo, to Nersing, to Gonesh, to Hoonoomaun, and smaller ones to inferior deities. That to Nersing has been lately erected. To officiate at these shrines, there are a sufficiency of Brahmins, and a host of *birajees*, *gosseins*, *sunyasseas*, and other descriptions of fakeers and mendicants; indeed, they are the only people who seem to have escaped the desolation. The houses of the priesthood were neat and comfortable, and their persons and circumstances apparently thriving." There are two royal residences in Rampore, both built of dry stone, bound with wooden beams.* The Author praises the slated roof of one as superior in its style to anything of the kind he had seen; and the carved ornaments in wood, the pillars, screens, cornices, and other ornamental work, are of admirable execution.

The summer residence of the Bischur Rajah is at Seran, higher up the country, and deeply retired within the snowy mountains, 7250 feet above the level of the sea. The climate there is said to be fine. About three miles from that place, near the Sutlej, are hot springs. "Formerly, human sacrifices were offered at a remarkable temple, sacred to Bhema Kali, the patroness of Bischur: they have been disused since the British conquest."†

The province of Bischur, extending to the Chinese territory on the N. and N. E., is bounded, on the E.

* Houses of this construction are said to last for ages. The walls are composed of long cedar or pine beams and stone, in alternate courses; the ends of the beams, where they meet at the corners, being bolted together by wooden pins.

† Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. i. p. 377.

and S. E. by Gurwal, and W. by the Sutlej and the Cooloo territory. It comprises, first, the mountainous district of Kunawur, embracing all the northern, north-eastern, and eastern tracts, within and behind the snowy hills, in the glen of the Sutlej; secondly, the Rampore district, extending down the valley of the Sutlej, with the smaller glens and ravines that drain into it; thirdly, the valley of the Pabur, with the smaller valleys that descend from the *Móral* ridge to that river; fourthly, the Nawur and Teekur valleys, with all the intervening tracts between it and the Sambracote valley, where the river bends to the S.E. The inhabitants of this last-mentioned division are represented as peculiarly savage, treacherous, licentious, and abandoned in morals; and a character not much better is assigned to the natives of the adjacent districts, who are represented as unpleasing in appearance, cowardly, and cruel. The greatest strength of Bischur lies in the wild passes and hardy population of Kunawur, who are of the Bhotea or Tatar family. Their physiognomy does not more strikingly distinguish them from the degraded race upon which they border, than their frank and courteous manners, their bravery, hospitality, and singular honesty. "Every person is safe in Kunawur, of whatever religion or sect he may be, whether Hindoo or Lama, Mohammedan or Christian." These worthy highlanders are almost exclusively the commercial carriers between Hindostan and Tatary, as well as between Tatary and Cashmere. Although recognised as Hindoos by descent and general profession, they, for the most part, follow the Lama religion. No Brahmins have ever settled in this district, nor will they go there. The Lama priests are scattered about the country, and the people carry

about their persons small idols purchased at Lassa.* Hindoostanee here ceases to be used or understood.

The *Mora-ke-kanda*, next to the snowy range the loftiest mountain in Bischur, is interesting as forming the ridge which divides and turns the waters of India. "Taking its rise from a mass of snowy peaks that advance on the east of the Sutlej above Rampore, it sends branches to the westward, that form part of the banks of the Sutlej, and on the east that extend to the Pabur; while another ridge extends in a south-westerly direction, but very irregularly, and under various names, the whole way to Irkee, and even to the plains. The waters that rise upon the eastern and south-eastern faces of this splendid range, are thus sent to the Pabur and the Girree, and, with those of the Tonse and Jumna, find their way by the Ganges to the Bay of Bengal; while those which flow from the western and northern sides are carried by the Sutlej and the Indus into the Gulf of Sinde and the Arabian Sea. The mountain is worthy of its great office, massy and dark, but streaked with snow, and cut into deep and numerous ravines, wild with rock and wood." †

From Rampore, Mr. Fraser had proceeded as far as Seran, with the intention of exploring the glen of the Sutlej, when orders were received for his brother to proceed with all convenient speed, to assume the charge of affairs at Gurwal. On reaching the banks of the Jumna, he formed the resolution to trace to their sources the rivers that form the celebrated Ganges; places to which no European had ever before penetrated.

* Fraser, p. 262—268. † Fraser, p. 250.

JUMNAUTRI.

The Jumna has its source (in lat. 30° 59′ 10″) on the S.W. side of the grand Himalaya range; "differing in this respect from the Ganges, which has the upper part of its course within the Himalaya, flowing from the S. of E. to the N. of W." The mountain in which Jumnâtri is situated, is distinguished by three very grand and lofty snowy peaks, rising to an elevation of between 20,000 and 21,000 feet.* It is called by the natives *Bunderpouch* (monkey's tail), in allusion to an absurd legend connected with a supposed lake situated between the snowy peaks, at a height perfectly inaccessible, in which Hunooman is fabled to have quenched his burning tail.† The spot which obtains the name of Jumnâtri, "is, in fact, very little below the place where the various small streams formed on the mountain brow, by the melting of many masses of snow, unite in one, and fall into a basin below. To this basin there is no access; for, immediately above this spot, the rocks again close over the stream, and, though not so lofty as those below, interpose a complete bar to further progress in the bed of the torrent. Between the two banks, the view is closed by the breast of the mountain, which is of vivid green from perpetual moisture, and is furrowed by time and the torrents into numberless ravines: down these ravines are seen trickling the numerous sources of the Jumna. Above this green bank, rugged, bare, and dark

* The loftiest peak, situated in lat. 31° 1′ 21″, long. 78° 33′ 32″, has an elevation of 21,155 feet. It forms a conspicuous object from Seharunpoor.

† If any weight could attach to the tradition, one would be led to conclude, that the lake or tank supposed to be contained in the hollow between the peaks of this mountain, must be a volcanic crater.

rocky cliffs arise; and the deep calm beds and cliffs of snow, towering above all, finish the picture. Noble rocks of varied hues and forms, crowned with luxuriant dark foliage, and the stream foaming from rock to rock, form a foreground not unworthy of it. At the place where it is customary to perform ablution, the rock on the north-east side of the river is very steep. It is apparently quartzose; the structure also is laminous; and from between these *laminæ*, run several streams of *warm water*, forming together a considerable quantity. There are several other sources; and one in particular, from which springs a column of considerable size, is situated in the bed of the river, between two large stones, and over it falls a stream of the river water. This water is much hotter than that already noticed: the hand cannot bear to be kept a moment in it, and it emits much vapour.* I could not detect the least acidity by the taste, nor any sulphurous smell: it was exceedingly pure, transparent, and tasteless. A great quantity of red crust, apparently deposited by the water, and seemingly formed of an iron oxide and some gritty earth, covered all the stones around and under the stream. This, on exposure to the air, hardened into a perfect but very porous stone; while, below the water, it was frequently mixed with a slimy substance, of a dull yellowish colour, somewhat like isinglass; certainly a production of the water, for it covered the stones over which the water ran.

"The violence and inequality of the stream frequently change the bed of the river. Formerly, it lay on the side opposite to this rock, and the numerous

* "The temperature of the water where it issues from the rock, is 194.7°, which, in that elevation, is nearly the heat at which water is converted into steam."—Asiat. Res., xiii. p. 327.

sources of this warm water were then very perceptible, many of them springing from the rock and gravel to some height in the air ; but several of these are now lost in the present course of the stream. These warm springs are of great sanctity ; and the spot for bathing is at the point before mentioned, where one of a considerable size rises in a pool of the cold river water, and renders it milk-warm. This jet is both heard and seen, as it plays far under the surface of the pool." *

Capt. Hodgson, who visited Jumnautri in April 1817, gives a somewhat different description of the appearance which it presented at that season. The stream was at that time covered and concealed by a bed of snow which had fallen from the precipices above, about sixty yards wide and forty feet in thickness, bounded on each side by mural precipices of granite ; while in front, at the distance of about five hundred yards, part of the base of the mountain rose abruptly, cased in snow and ice, and shutting up the head of the defile in which the river originates. The snow was very solid and hard frozen, but the Writer found means to descend to the bed of the river, by an exceedingly steep, narrow, and dark hole, formed through the snow by the steam of the boiling springs beneath. Here, he witnessed a very extraordinary scene. "When I got footing at the stream," he says, "here only a large pace (three feet) wide, it was some time before I could discern anything, on account of the darkness of the place,—made more so by the thick steam; but, having some white lights with me, I fired them, and, by their glare, was able to see and admire the curious domes of snow overhead : these are caused by the hot steam melting the snow over it. Some of these excavations are very spacious, resembling

* Fraser, pp. 428, 9.

vaulted roofs of marble; and the snow, as it melts, falls in showers, like heavy rain, to the stream, which appears to owe its origin in a great measure to these supplies. The spring was too hot to bear the finger in for more than two seconds, and must be near the boiling point. Rice boiled in it, but imperfectly. The range of springs is very extensive, but I could not visit them all, as the rest are in dark recesses and snow caverns. The water rises up with great ebullition, through crevices of the granite rock, and deposits a ferruginous sediment: it is tasteless, and I did not perceive any peculiar smell." *

The Jumna is very soon joined by a stream of nearly equal size, called by Mr. Fraser the *Oonta-gunga*, flowing from the *Doomun-kundee*; and at the village of Paria, it receives the *Birain* or *Bheem-ke-gadh*, very little inferior in size. Some of the deep, stony glens which disgorge their waters into the Jumna, in the early part of its course, are gloomy, wild, and rugged beyond description. The glen called Palià Gadh, is believed to be impenetrable; and superstition has heightened its natural horrors, by peopling it with *dewlas* or spirits who inveigle the young and beautiful to their wild abodes. †

From Jumnautri, Mr. Fraser proceeded by a difficult and lofty route, over a shoulder of Bundurpouch, to

* Asiat. Res., vol. xiv. pp. 147, 8. The hot springs which are frequent in the Himalaya, may perhaps be, the Writer suggests, "a provision of nature to ensure a supply of water to the heads of the rivers in the winter season, when the sun can have little or no power of melting the snow in these deep defiles."

† A survey of the course of the Jumna, from its junction with the Tonse in the Doon, to its source, by Captain Hodgson, will be found in vol. xiv. of the Asiatic Researches, pp. 129—152.

GUNGAUTRI.

THE source of the most sacred branch of the Ganges, where Mahadeo sits enthroned amid everlasting snows. Nothing that he had hitherto seen in the mountains and glens bordering on the Jumna, or in those of the Sutlej, equalled in savage ruggedness and wildness the desert banks of the Bhagiruttee. The confluence of this stream with the Jahnevi or Jahni-ganga, at a place called *Bhairo-ghati* (or *Bhyram-ghauttee*) presents a scene truly awful and terrific. "Both these rivers run in chasms, the depth, narrowness, and rugged wildness of which it is impossible to describe.* Between them is thrust a lofty crag like a wedge, equal in height and savage aspect to those that on either side tower above the torrents. Immediately above the junction, an old and crazy wooden bridge is thrown across the Bhagiruttee, from one rock to the other, many feet above the stream; and there we see it in a state of dirty foam, twisting violently and with mighty noise, through the curiously hollowed trough of solid granite, cutting it into the strangest shapes, and leaping in fearful waves over every obstacle. From hence, the gigantic features of the mountains may frequently be seen, overhanging the deep black glen; their brown splintered crags hardly differing in colour from the blasted pines which start from their fissures and crevices, or even from the dark foliage of those which yet live.

* "No where in my travels in these rude mountains," says Capt. Hodgson, "have I seen any thing to be compared with this in horror and extravagance." From the smoothness of the rocks which confine the stream, and which appear to have been worn so by water, he thinks that the river must formerly have flowed on a higher level, and that it is gradually scooping its channel deeper."

"Just at the end of the bridge, there is an overhanging rock, under which worship is performed to Bhyram.* A black stone, painted red, is the image of the god; and here, not only worship was performed, but every one was obliged to bathe and eat bread baked by the Brahmins, as preparatory to the great and effectual ablutions at Gungotree. From hence, we ascended the rock by a path more curious, dangerous, and difficult, than any we had yet passed. As the rock is too steep to afford a natural path, the chief part is constructed of large beams of wood, driven into the fissures, on which other beams and large stones are placed; thus forming a hanging flight of steps over the fearful gulf below. Sometimes, it is even requisite to make a leap to reach the next sure footing; and at others, with merely the support afforded by a slight projecting ledge, and the help of a bamboo hung from some rock above, to cling to the rock and make a hazardous passage. By this unpleasant path, we reached a step or level spot on the first stage of the mountain, where, in a thick grove of fir-trees, is placed a small temple to Bhyram; built by order of Ummur Singh Thappa, who gave a sum of money to repair the road and erect places of worship here and at Gungotree. We proceeded along the side of the hill on the north bank of the river, gradually ascending by a path equally difficult and dangerous as the first part, but more fearful, as the precipice increases in height, and exceedingly toilsome from the nature of the ground. Three *coss* of such road brought us opposite to a considerable stream, which tumbles down a deep ravine, called *Mianee-ke-Gadh*, and through which opening is seen the snowy range of ·nee, with the extensive bosom of snow that feeds eam. From a point just below this, we had a

or Bhairo Lal, is esteemed the janitor of Gangautri.

view of the most singular and lofty peak of Roodroo Himala.

"The path increases in difficulty from the very irregular nature of the ground. Shapeless blocks of rock obstruct the way, and for hundreds of yards, at times, the passenger must clamber over these masses, which, huge as they are, shake and move under a man's weight. A gun-shot below Gungotree, the Kedar Gunga,* a rapid and considerable stream, debouches into the Bhagiruttee, at a place called *Gouree-counda:* this is a holy place where a second ablution is usually performed. Below this place, the river falls over a rock of considerable height in its bed, and continues tumbling over a succession of petty cascades and rapids nearly the whole way to *Miance-ke-Gadh.* Above the debouche of the Kedar Gunga, the bed widens into a small shingly space, in which the river rapidly rolls, changing its course as the floods direct it. Just at the gorge of this opening, a bridge has been thrown across, resting on a large rock in the centre; and just above the bridge, in a bay formed by the river in this shingly space, fifteen feet above the stream, is situated the small temple or *mut* dedicated to the goddess Gunga or Bhagiruttee. The scene is worthy of the mysterious sanctity attached to it. On all sides is the prospect closed, except in front to the eastward, where, from behind a mass of bare spires, four huge, lofty, snowy peaks arise, the peaks of Roodroo Himala: there could be no finer finishing, no grander close to such a scene."†

* Captain Hodgson says, that it has no claim to the title of a river, being a mere torrent from the snow, wide and shallow, and its course cannot be longer than three or four miles.

† Fraser, pp. 463—470. To add to the sublimity of the scene, when Captain Hodgson visited it, two years after, he was awakened from rest by the rocking of the ground, and witnessed, by the

There, as at Jumnotri, you are told, that no mortal has gone, or can go further towards the origin of the river, than this spot. Mr. Fraser advanced with difficulty a few hundred yards, but was forced to turn back. Captain Hodgson, however, in 1817, advanced from Gungotri, sometimes ascending a succession of snow-beds, which covered the river, (in one place it flowed beneath an avalanche 500 feet thick,) or climbing over rocky fragments, at other times proceeding along the rocky bed of the river, till, at length, on the *third* day of this daring and perilous adventure, he reached "*The Cow's Mouth.*"—

"A most wonderful scene. The Bhagirathi issues from under a very low arch at the foot of the grand snow-bed. The river is here bounded, to the right and left, by high snow and rocks; but, in front over the debouche, the mass of snow is perfectly perpendicular, and from the bed of the stream to the summit, we estimate the thickness at little less than 300 feet of solid frozen snow, probably the accumulation of ages: it is in layers of some feet thick, each seemingly the remains of a fall of a separate year. From the brow of this curious wall of snow, and immediately above the outlet of the stream, large and hoary icicles depend: they are formed by the freezing of the melted snow water of the top of the bed, for, in the middle of the day, the sun is powerful, and the water produced by its action, falls over this place in cascade, but is frozen at night.* I cannot think of any place to

bright moonlight, the terrific operations of an earthquake: rocks were hurled in every direction, with hideous noise, from the peaks around to the bed of the river. Gangautri is in lat. 30° 59′ 30″.

* The Gangautri Brahmin who accompanied the Author, an illiterate Brahmin, observed, that he thought these icicles must be Mahadeva's hair, whence, as he understood, it is written in the Shastra, the Ganges flows.

which they might more aptly give the name of a cow's mouth, than to this extraordinary debouche. The height of the arch is only sufficient to let the stream flow under it. The mean breadth was twenty-seven feet, and the greatest depth at that place, eighteen inches. The dazzling brilliancy of the snow was rendered more striking by its contrast with the dark blue colour of the sky, which is caused by the thinness of the air; and at night, the stars shone with a lustre which they have not in a denser atmosphere. It was curious, too, to see them, when rising, appear like one sudden flash, as they emerged from behind the bright snowy summits close to us; and their disappearance, when setting behind the peaks, was as sudden as we generally observed it to be in their occultations by the moon. We were surrounded by gigantic peaks entirely cased in snow, and almost beyond the regions of animal and vegetable life;* and an awful silence prevailed, except when broken by the thundering peals of falling avalanches. Nothing met our eyes, resembling the scenery in the haunts of men. By moonlight, all appeared cold, wild, and stupendous; and a pagan might aptly imagine the place a fit abode for demons. We did not see even bears, or musk-deer, or eagles, or any living creature, except some small birds."†

This adventurous Traveller ascended an inclined bed of snow, full of dangerous hollows, rifts, and

* The elevation of this station was 13,800 feet above the sea. The highest point reached by the Writer in this direction, was 800 feet above (14,600); lat. 30° 54′ 54″, long. 79° 4′. The confluence of the Bhagirathi and Jahnevi, is in lat. 31° 1′ 39″, long. 78° 51′ 4″; 8511 feet above the sea, and 7487 above the plain at Hurdwar. The distance from Gangoutri to the Cow's Mouth, Capt. H. computed at 22,020 paces or about eleven miles.

† Asiat. Res., vol. xiv. pp. 115—118.

chasms, for about a mile and a half further; but was then obliged to return. He conceives it to be ascertained, however, that there can be no practicable pass this way to the Tatarian districts, and that the most remote rill which contributes, under the snow, to the first formation of the Ganges, cannot be more distant than the ridge; so that such formation must be on the hither side, and not at any lake or more distant place beyond it. This remark applies only to the Bhagirathi head, which, though esteemed "the holy and celebrated Ganges," is not the largest or most distant source. The Jahnevi river, according to information received by Mr. Fraser, originates in a very lofty mountain called *Ree kee-sóor-stan*, in the Chinese territory, fifteen days journey N. E. of Gungotri; and Capt. Hodgson learned from a Brahmin officiating at the latter place, that, by the course of this river, there is a pass to Thibet, which, though steep and difficult, is practicable at the latter end of the rains. At the frontier village of Neilang, distant four days from the confluence, the river is but little diminished in size; and there is a *sanga* over it. The true Ganges, therefore, if that name be given to the most remote source, has its origin on the *northern* side of the great snowy range.*

* Frazer, p. 464. As. Res. vol. xiv. p. 90. The Editor had not had an opportunity of consulting this last authority, when the account of the Ganges given in the first volume (pp. 20—22), was drawn up. For a highly interesting account of the journey of Capt. Webb, Hearsey, and Raper to the sources of the Alaknunda and to Buddrinauth, our already exhausted limits compel us to refer the reader to the eleventh volume of Asiatic Researches, Art. X. Kedarnauth, situated at the source of the Kaliganga, had never been visited by any European in 1826. These, as being more accessible than Gungotri, are much more frequented by pilgrims, and the ecclesiastical establishments there are consequently far more wealthy and imposing. The number of pilgrims who visited

The point to which Capt. Hodgson advanced, was within two miles and a half of one of the gigantic peaks, here seen, under an angle of elevation of nearly 33°, cased in snow from the base to the summit, and towering to the stupendous height of 8052 feet (upwards of a mile and a half) above the station.*

The highest peak in this part of the Himalayan range, appears to be Buddrinauth, which attains, according to Lieut. Herbert's survey, an elevation of 23,441 feet; and Kedarnauth peak, another summit of the same ridge, is only about 400 feet lower. Three still loftier peaks rise in the Jawahir district, about sixty miles to the south-eastward: the highest of the three is 25,749 feet above the level of the

Buddrinauth in 1807, amounted to between 45,000 and 50,000, many of them fakeers from the most remote parts of India.

* This would seem to be the Mount Moira of the survey, rising to an elevation, according to Lieut. Herbert, of 22,792 feet. Among other names borne by this stupendous mountain, Mr. Fraser says, is that of *Paunch-purbut* (Five Peaks). These five are called *Roodroo Himala* (Mahadeo's seat), *Bu-rum-pooree* (Brahma's seat?), *Bissen-pooree* (Vishnoo's seat?), *Oodgurree-kanta*, and *Soorgu-roonee*. Two of these are evidently the Roodroo Himalah and Serga-ruen'r (or Swerga-rona) of the survey, forming part of the ridge separating the Jahnavi and Bhagirathi; a third is the Sri-kanta; another is a fourth (F) not named. On advancing beyond Gungotri, Capt. Hodgson came in sight of three majestic peaks, which he called St. George, St. Patrick, and St. Andrew: on ascending further, a lower peak, between St. George and St. Patrick, became visible, to which he gave the name of St. David, and to the whole mountain, the name of the Four Saints. These four are at the head of the valley of snow, while Mount Moira stands like a giant to the right of the valley. "T[illegible]

sea. "So far as our knowledge extends," remarks Lieut. Herbert, "this is the highest mountain in the world." It would accordingly seem to be the Nundidevi of Bishop Heber; "the kitchen of the god Nundi."* To the north of Katmandoo, the snowy range again appears to attain a stupendous elevation; and according to Colonel Crawfurd's observations, the peaks seen from that capital, are still loftier than those which tower above the sources of the Ganges. Among the most remarkable, are two a little to the eastward of N. from Katmandoo, one of which, pointed out as Mount Dhaibun, at a distance of thirty-five geographical miles, rose to an altitude of 20,140 feet above the station, or 24,740 feet above the sea. Three others were seen in a direction a little N. of E.; one nearly in the position of the *Khala-bhairava*, distant fifty-nine geographical miles, and 20,025 feet high (24,625 feet abov[illegible] sea); a second, forty-eight miles distant, and 18[illegible]eet high; a third, sixty-eight miles distan[illegible] 18,662 feet above Katmandoo.†

But we have not yet arrived at the highest point. Near the source of the Gunduk river, in Thibet, there is a remarkable peak distinguished by the name of the *Dhawala-giri*, the White Mountain, which, Mr. Colebrooke thinks, may safely be pronounced to exceed

* Heber, vol. ii. p. 209. As. Res. vol. xiv. p. 324.

† Asiat. Res., vol. xii. pp. 264, 276. We do not as yet know, from actual survey, the precise latitudes and longitudes of any peaks further to the S.E. than the parallel of 29° 50′ and long. 81°. The position of the more eastern peaks visible from [illegible], Mongheer,
howev

26,862 feet above the sea. It is the *Mont Blanc* of the Himalaya.* At all events, this astonishing chain is now incontestably ascertained to comprise the loftiest range of elevations on the surface of the globe ; Chimborazo, the highest summit of the Andes, not exceeding 21,470 feet above the sea, and being therefore more than 3000 feet, or, if Mr. Colebrooke be correct, 5000 feet below the loftiest peak of the Indian Olympus.

On crossing the Sutlej into the Punjaub, we enter the territory of the Seik Rajah of Lahore. This once fertile and populous region now contains, on a surface of nearly 70,000 square miles, a scattered population not exceeding, it is supposed, four millions of souls. The Seiks form at present friendly and peaceable neighbours, and serve as a barrier against the more turbulent Moslems of Afghanistan.† It is in this

* "I may be allowed," says [illegible], "to express regret that the valley of the Gandha[illegible] unexplored. It is in that valley that ammonites are [illegible] found, and other ancient remains may be looked [illegible] It is probably the route by which the *Dhawalagiri*, or White Mountain of the Himalaya, may be approached, and the altitude of apparently the highest mountain may be definitively determined. I still entertain the expectation, founded on measurements taken from remote stations, that its height will be found to be not less than 27,000 feet above the sea."—Trans. of Roy. Asiat. Soc., vol. i. p. 380. See also Asiat. Res. vol. xii. p. 276.

† An insurrection, as it is termed, of the Afghaun Mussulmans of the Punjaub against the Seiks, broke out last year, which [illegible] to have terminated, for the time, in the more complete [illegible]'s sovereignty from the Sutlej to [illegible] have an-

quarter, however, that British India can alone be considered as having a vulnerable frontier. Masters of the whole of the three coasts of India, of both shores of the Bay of Bengal, of the whole course of the Ganges and the Jumna, from their sources in the snowy range, which forms an impassable barrier towards Central Asia, and of the estuary of the Brahmapootra,—the merchant-sovereigns of this immense empire of teeming millions may smile at th idea of foreign danger. The grand problem to be solved is, how long this vast estate of a joint-stock company, with its three colonial presidencies in one diocese, can be governed with advantage under the present complex and anomalous arrangement; or, in other words, in what way Great Britain may best discharge the momentous political trust consigned to her by the Supreme Disposer of Empires, upon her elity to which will depend the permanence of her Asiatic dominions.

body of men. The is ue [illegible] ntest [illegible] ld seem to be as yet doubtful; but there is [illegible] ope, [illegible] the British Government will not be re[illegible]red t[illegible] pose bet een the belligerents, or be forced as yet to extend its e[illegible]r-wideni[illegible] frontier to the Indus.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.